Vol. 8, No. 2
March/April 1999
$9.00

Fax inside Heartland

Intellectual Ammunition

a publication of The Heartland Institute

Potshots

If you're only going to have 10 rules, I don't know if adultery should be one of them.

— *Media magnate* Ted Turner suggesting the Ten Commandments be revised

Perhaps someone ought to bring that up with Jane.

— Catholic League President William Donohue

Nowhere are prejudices more mistaken for truth, passion for reason, and invective for documentation than in politics.

— John Mason Brown

It is painfully written in the pages of history, and it is obvious to all who will read, that long before any government can give its people all that they want, it will have taken from them all that they have.

— Fred Settelmeyer

If I were an authoritarian by nature, I would ban children from seeing Disney movies and require them all to shoot and skin a deer before they could get a driver's license. That would give them a dose of realism and protect them from fantasies.

— Charley Reese

The skeleton is what is left after the insides have been taken out and the outsides have been taken off. The purpose of the skeleton is something to hitch meat to.

— from an 11-year-old's science exam

Lifting the Skirts of "Progressive" Demonizers

Joseph L. Bast

American business and consumers are being assaulted by a class of individuals and organizations I call the Demonizers. The method of attack used by these groups: Identify a victim; demonize it with false or misleading accusations; whip up a public resentment against the victim; and then, while the public is distracted, gain power.

Who Are the Demonizers?

The best known of the Demonizers are opportunistic public interest groups with familiar names, such as The American Lung Association, the Sierra Club, and Handgun Control Inc. Individuals who fit the description include the many lawyers and state attorneys general who have targeted Microsoft and the tobacco industry, and Ralph Nader, who wants to ban . . . everything.

For lawyers, the motivation is money—billions of dollars from the pockets of the nation's smokers for catching the tobacco industry, for example. Most public interest groups are in it for the money, too, despite their pleasant-sounding names. The Natural Resources Defense Council, for example, raised millions of dollars in contributions and membership dues a few years ago by demonizing Alar, a harmless chemical used to regulate the ripening of apples.

Many Demonizers are advocates of bigger government. We used to call them socialists, but now they prefer to be called "progressives." Journalists believe it is rude to lift the skirts of progressive advocacy groups to reveal their true agenda, so even spokespersons for Greenpeace, who dress up like tree stumps and chain themselves to construction equipment, are treated as authorities on the most complex matters of public health.

(Conservatives demonize people, too, but not nearly as often or as well as socialists.)

Who Are the Victims?

The latest victims of the Demonizers are tobacco companies. Stalked by greedy lawyers, prosecuted by publicity-hungry state attorneys general, and libeled by the direct mail fundraising machinery of "public health" organizations, the tobacco industry has been forced to negotiate terms for its very existence.

Microsoft, the giant computer software company, seems to have little in common with tobacco companies except its enormous size and ample profits. Alas, these are the precise and only requirements for being a target of the Demonizers. Those lawyers, state attorneys

continued on page 3

In This Issue

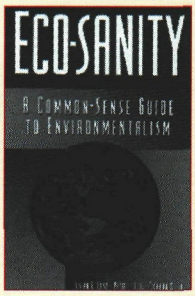
Crime	4	Regulation	11
Education	5	Taxes	12
Environment	6	Welfare	14
Health Care	7	Point of View	15,18
Law	8	Excerpt	16
Privatization	10	Contacts	20

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

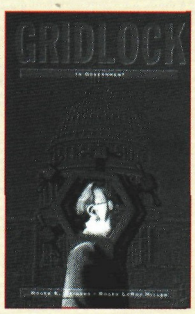
Publications available from The Heartland Institute

Just call 312/377-4000

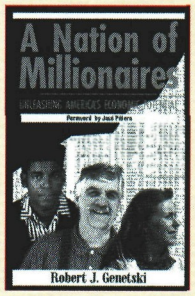
books



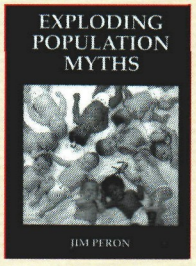
Eco-Sanity
$12.95 paperback
316 pages



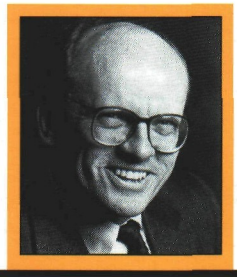
Gridlock in Government
$4.95 paperback
148 pages



A Nation of Millionaires
$8.95 paperback
168 pages



Exploding Population Myths
$4.95 paperback
80 pages



News from the Heartland

by Dan Miller
Publisher

An otherwise pleasant reunion with an old friend recently became a bit tense when our discussion turned to the threat posed by global warming and the proper public policy response to the situation.

Before we drew our swords and began banging away with the futility that typifies such confrontations, I had the good sense to propose a truce. "I promise that I will visit any Web site you send me to that advocates the position that global warming is a true threat," I said. "In return, you must visit one site that I recommend."

My friend agreed, and said he'd send me the address of his site within a couple days. I already had my site picked out for him: **http://www.junkscience.org**.

True to his word, my friend visited the Junk Science Home Page, and later he e-mailed me, "Okay, I'm convinced you're probably right that whatever global warming may exist is part of an eons-long warming process at the end of an eons-long ice age, and that any government program to halt the march of natural forces would do more harm than good. Do you know any more sites like the Junk Science page?"

There are plenty more sound-science sites on the Web dispelling the myths supporting the global warming policy initiatives, although the Junk Science Home Page is unsurpassed for breadth and wit. It's run by Steve Milloy, who holds degrees in law from Georgetown, and health sciences and natural sciences from Johns Hopkins University.

Steve attacks extreme environmentalists at their point of weakness: their science. Steve pierces the inflated claims of purveyors of global warming studies, exposing their faulty scientific methods, shoddy research, and experiments that can't be duplicated. He also offers scores of links to other sound science sites.

University of Virginia environmental science researcher Patrick Michaels also offers rock-solid science and healthy skepticism at his site for the *World Climate Report*, **http://www.nhes.com**. Pat presents breaking news on the science and political science of global warming, and provides insightful analysis and rebuttal. He's been particularly effective in reporting and interpreting data on temperature patterns in Earth's atmosphere.

Somewhat less feisty but still rooted in sound science is the National Center for Public Policy Research's task force on environmental policy at **http://www.nationalcenter.org**. I've sent several students there to begin their term-paper research.

When it comes to hand-to-hand combat, my money is on Candace Crandall, who, along with the estimable physicist Fred Singer, runs the Science and Environmental Policy Project site at **http://www.sepp.org**. Candace pulls no punches when she's confronting the Luddites, and she can always be counted on to get the competitive emotions ignited.

Speaking of competitive emotions, the Competitive Enterprise Institute offers a wide array of environment-oriented opeds, essays, letters, testimony, and news stories at its site, **http://www.cei.org**, and that site will link you to the Cooler Heads site at **http://www.globalwarming.org**, run by Jim Sheehan and Paul Georgia, who always provide savvy, sophisticated analysis from inside the Beltway.

And finally, if it's original policy research you seek, there's no better place than Heartland's own Web page, **http://www.heartland.org**.

Happy surfing.

Intellectual Ammunition (ISSN 1077-8861) is published bimonthly by The Heartland Institute, a nonprofit, nonpartisan research and education organization. Nothing in *Intellectual Ammunition* should be construed as necessarily reflecting the views of The Heartland Institute or as an attempt to aid or hinder the passage of any legislation. Reprint permission is granted, provided sufficient credit is given to The Heartland Institute. Annual subscription with Heartland membership $49.00; single issue $9.00. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Heartland Institute, 19 South LaSalle, Suite 903, Chicago, IL 60603; telephone 312/377-4000, fax 312/377-5000.

Publisher: Dan Miller ❖ **Editor:** Diane Carol Bast ❖ **Art Director:** Kevin M. Fitzgerald

Contributing Editors: *Crime* Morgan Reynolds, National Center for Policy Analysis; *Education* George Clowes, The Heartland Institute; *Environment* Jonathan H. Adler, Competitive Enterprise Institute; *Health Care* Twila Brase, Citizens for Choice in Health Care; *Law* John E. Kramer, Institute for Justice; *Privatization* Adrian T. Moore, Reason Foundation; *Regulation* Murray Weidenbaum, Center for the Study of American Business; *Taxes* Bill Ahern, Tax Foundation; *Welfare* Robert Rector, The Heritage Foundation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

continued from page 1

general, and "public interest" groups that are so expert on the long-term health effects of second-hand smoke in Courtroom A and on Channel 5 are just as expert on the fine points of antitrust doctrine in Courtroom B and on Channel 7.

Gun owners and people who drink alcoholic beverages lead the list of future victims. In a recent *Wall Street Journal* essay, Mark F. Bernstein identified junk food as "the next big public health crusade, the next thing everyone used to wrestle with (or perhaps even enjoy) in peace until we decided it was all part of a sinister plot." Bernstein makes a perfectly plausible case—given the standards of today's debate—for holding the junk food industry responsible for the 300,000 deaths caused each year by obesity.

The real victims of a campaign against junk food would not be Twinkies, Moon Pies, or Big Macs. The Demonizers don't declare "war" against inanimate objects. They attack people who consume the condemned products in moderation, causing no harm to their own health and certainly no damage to the life or property of others.

Welcome to the Plaintiffs' Bar

Plaintiffs' lawyers emerged as a major threat during the 1980s, thanks to a revolution in the legal interpretation of liability, lenient and corrupt judges, and the decision by state and local governments to contract with private attorneys to represent them in litigation against industries.

In the not-so-distant past, good judges kept junk science out of the courtroom; explained to jurors their duties, in plain language; threw out excessive awards and fees; and refused to approve proposals to adjoin cases into sweeping class action suits. Those barriers to abuse have crumbled in many states, with devastating effects.

The plaintiffs' bar demonizes American businesses in two ways. The first is by pouring hundreds of millions of dollars into so-called "public interest" groups and political campaigns. Anti-business activist Ralph Nader's disciples, in particular, are heavily funded by trial lawyers.

Someone once said you can't buy a politician, but you can certainly rent one. Between 1989 and 1994, individual plaintiffs' lawyers, their spouses, children, and their PACs gave over $55 million to political campaigns—over 90 percent to Democrats opposed to tort reform. Political giving by trial lawyers towers over giving by auto manufacturers, oil companies, or labor unions.

> *The method of attack: Identify a victim; demonize it with false or misleading accusations; whip up a public resentment against the victim; and then, while the public is distracted, gain power.*

Suing for Fun and Profit

Thanks largely to the efforts of the plaintiffs' bar, America's civil justice system has become a gigantic lottery in which alleged victims demand and frequently win enormous sums for what appear to be minor inconveniences—usually resulting from their own poor judgment. Just two anecdotes serve to illustrate the point:

- Stella Liebeck was awarded $2.9 million after spilling hot coffee from McDonald's in her lap. She eventually received $640,000.

> *Entire industries have been crippled or forced into bankruptcy by the plaintiffs' bar.*

- On October 8, 1997, a South Carolina jury ordered Chrysler Corp. to pay the parents of a 6-year-old boy $262.5 million when he was thrown from the family minivan in an automobile accident. The parents blamed a defective latch on the rear lift gate—even though the boy was not wearing a seatbelt and probably fell through an open side window.

Entire industries have been crippled or forced into bankruptcy by the plaintiffs' bar, including asbestos producers, the producers of silicone for breast implants and other medical procedures, and the domestic small-airplane industry. If you eat "junk food," drive a car, use (legal) drugs, own a gun, or drink beer, wine, or distilled spirits, you should be alarmed. If you work for a company that makes any of those products, you should be approaching a blind panic.

Dangerous Precedents

Some of the hundreds of millions of dollars earned by lawyers who destroyed the asbestos industry were plowed back into breast implant and tobacco litigation. Now the *billions* of dollars in fees from those settlements are beginning to finance litigation against other "inherently dangerous" products.

Tobacco litigation has dramatically expanded the range of permissible tactics available to the plaintiffs' bar when engaged in litigation with an unpopular industry. For example, tobacco industry sources report the following travesties from Minnesota's lawsuit (settled out of court for $6.6 billion) against the industry:

- **Jury selection:** Jurors were not excused even when they stated strong biases against the tobacco industry, while one juror who expressed a view favorable to the industry was removed on the judge's own motion.
- **Discovery:** The industry was required to turn over thousands of privileged documents to plaintiffs without court review to determine whether client-attorney privilege was being compromised, and with no opportunity to appeal the ruling.
- **Procedure:** Attorneys for individual tobacco companies were not allowed to cross-examine the state's witnesses even when their individual firms were the subject of testimony in court.
- **Judge impartiality:** The judge in the case imposed on the defense rules concerning evidence and procedure that were dramatically different and more burdensome than those on the plaintiffs.

Clearly, these are dangerous procedural precedents that will affect the next industry that faces its day in court.

❖

Joseph L. Bast is president of The Heartland Institute. He may be contacted at jbast@heartland.org.

Intellectual Ammunition March/April 1999 © The Heartland Institute

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crime

Morgan Reynolds

Morgan Reynolds is director of the Criminal Justice Center at the National Center for Policy Analysis.

Privatize Criminal Justice?

The share of national output spent by government on crime control has tripled over the last three decades and now exceeds $100 billion annually, or about $1,000 per household. Serious money, indeed. Crime rates have declined, suggesting some benefit from the taxes consumed, yet crime stubbornly remains three times higher than it was 30 years ago. The productivity of law enforcement bureaucracies, we may conclude, has declined.

But what else would you expect? Big government is no more likely to be the answer to crime than to any other problem. Private-sector solutions and market-driven reforms are more likely to work.

As long as men are not angels, the root solution for crime control must involve getting incentives right, or at least close to right. Social custom and law must internalize (privatize) more benefits for crime suppressors and make crime producers pay more of the costs they impose on victims.

Big government is no more likely to be the answer to crime than to any other problem.

Bruce Benson, an economist at Florida State University, pursues this logic relentlessly in his new book, *To Serve and Protect: Privatization and Community in Criminal Justice*. Benson is a veteran researcher on crime and law, and his book integrates a sprawling literature in a way that changes the whole discussion.

The book works on two levels. First, it reviews many private techniques in criminal justice from medieval Anglo-Saxon days to today. Second, and more importantly, it redirects our attention away from goals of social engineering, such as deterrence and rehabilitation, toward the tasks of doing justice and enforcing individual rights and responsibilities.

Like education, criminology has long been a field driven by fads. Lacking a solid intellectual anchor and populated primarily by sociologists, criminology has for the most part ignored a rights-based or libertarian perspective. Benson's book fills that void. His premise is that justice for victims in particular—not society in general—must be the real goal of a justice system worthy of the name. All else follows from this moral premise.

Offenses treated as crimes today, such as murder and robbery, were once treated as private torts, with monetary compensation the primary remedy. This private system of justice worked well and could do so again. With the prospect of recovering damages, victims have a greater incentive to report crimes, correcting a major flaw in our present system, in which victims report to the police only 40 percent of crimes.

Benson's historical research explodes the myth that the justice system must be a "public good" that only government can provide. Our reliance on government to control criminals is very recent—less than two centuries old in most respects. Before then, restitution was the rule, and restitution rights were even saleable, thereby promoting efficiency in apprehension and liability. What happened? English kings took away victims' property rights to restitution, and the path of criminal justice in England then wandered from individualism toward collectivism.

Benson's work is solidly anchored in historical reality, and his careful treatment will inform every reader, who is free to choose policy changes according to taste, from mild to wild. Ultimately, the logic in favor of a fully private justice system is compelling.

Perhaps Benson's most compelling evidence comes from Japan. The country has the lowest crime rate among industrialized nations by far, and Japan alone has enjoyed continuously falling crime rates since World War II. A primary reason, claims Benson, is that the system is more privatized and victim-oriented than ours. The criminal must bargain for forgiveness with the victim; if the wrongdoer negotiates an acceptable settlement package and shows true contrition, public-sector punishment is lenient.

Our system has moved toward enshrining victims' rights in many state statutes and constitutions. Benson sees these as largely illusory gains, however, since law enforcement bureaucracies have co-opted victims' rights organizations. He urges victims' groups to break their ties with government officials in order to transform criminals' "debts to society" into private, transferable debts to individual victims.

Benson is prone to exaggerate the failure of the current system, referring to a "public breakdown" of the law. Nevertheless, his daring conclusion—that we should incrementally privatize both the demand for and the supply of criminal justice services—leaves us with a wealth of provocative ideas. Surely Bruce Benson is correct—a rights-based system with effective rights to restitution would produce far less crime.

PolicyFax

Available on ***PolicyFax***
Crime Control through Private Enterprise
Read more of Benson's provocative ideas in an essay he wrote for The Independent Institute (Independent Review, Winter 1998).

Call 312/377-3000
Order documents #1365404 (part 1, 16pp.) and #1365405 (part 2, 15pp.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Education

George Clowes

George Clowes is managing editor of *School Reform News*, a monthly newspaper published by The Heartland Institute.

Harvard Study: Vouchers Work

Low-income students in New York City who were able to use vouchers to transfer to private schools last fall scored higher on reading and math tests than did their peers who remained behind in the public schools, according to a study conducted by Harvard University and Mathematica Policy Research.

After one year, students in grades two through five who received vouchers from the New York School Choice Scholarship Program scored about two percentile points higher in reading and math than students who did not receive vouchers. Voucher students in grades four and five showed much larger differences—four percentile points in reading and six points in math.

The study, "An Evaluation of the New York City School Choice Scholarships Program: The First Year," is the most carefully designed research project on school choice to date. It was designed to eliminate many of the analytical problems that cloud the results of state-funded choice programs, such as self-selection of motivated parents and the establishment of an appropriate control group.

When the New York School Choice Scholarship Program offered three-year scholarships to low-income elementary schoolchildren in 1997, more than 20,000 parents applied for the 1,300 scholarships. Mathematica collected benchmark data on the applicants and their families before the vouchers were awarded by lottery for use starting with the 1997-98 school year. Last spring, the researchers retested 1,000 students who had received vouchers and a control group of 960 students who had applied for but not received vouchers.

"Because scholarships were awarded at random, the two groups may be assumed to be, on average, statistically equivalent, save the offer of a scholarship," note the researchers, Harvard professor Paul E. Peterson, Mathematica senior fellow David Myers, and William G. Howell of the Harvard Program on Education Policy and Governance. Thus, they conclude, "any differences between the two groups can be attributed to the offer."

Teacher Union Criticism Off Base

School choice opponents quickly tried to discredit the results by dismissing the gains as an inevitable consequence of smaller class sizes. Significantly, Peterson and his colleagues addressed the issue of class size in their report. They compared their results with those of an evaluation of another randomized experiment heavily promoted by teacher unions: a Tennessee experiment to reduce average class size from 25 to 15 students.

The Tennessee experiment showed one-year gains of .15 to .30 standard deviations only in first grade, while the New York City experiment shows one-year gains of .18 to .23 standard deviations—effects deemed "small" by the American Federation of Teachers—in grades four and five.

"The effect sizes observed in this evaluation of the New York scholarship program do not differ materially from those observed in Tennessee," note Peterson and his colleagues, suggesting that the New York City results would also be called "quite substantial" if the Tennessee terminology were applied to their work.

How Parents Choose

Critics of school choice also argue that low-income families will select schools for their children on the basis of sports programs, location, or religious instruction—not on educational quality. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching has claimed, for example, that "when parents do select another school, academic concerns often are not central to the decision."

> *The scholarship program had a major impact on the daily life of students at school.*

Results from the Choice Scholarship Program show critics' concerns to be ill-founded. Over three-quarters of low-income scholarship parents cited the following factors as "very important" in their choice of school: school safety, "what's taught in class," teacher quality, academic quality, and discipline. About half said religious considerations were very important. The items least frequently mentioned were attending a neighborhood school, attending a school with a child's friends, and the sports program.

Overall, scholarship families were substantially more satisfied than the control group with every aspect of their children's school. While only one-eighth of control group parents gave their school an "A," half of the scholarship users gave their school the top rating. Only one-sixth of the control group parents were very satisfied with the academic quality of the school, compared to over half of the scholarship parents. Only 18 percent of the control group expressed the highest satisfaction with "what's taught in school," compared to 58 percent of the scholarship group.

"The scholarship program had a major impact on the daily life of students at school," say the researchers.

PolicyFax

Available on ***PolicyFax***

Complete text of the study is available on *PolicyFax*. (Mathematica Policy Research and Harvard University Program on Education Policy and Governance, 1998).

Call 312/377-3000
Request documents #2185406 (part 1, 10pp.), #2185407 (part 2, 11pp.), #2185408 (part 3, 12pp.), #2185409 (part 4, 13pp.), and #2185410 (part 5, 12pp.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Environment

Jonathan H. Adler

Jonathan H. Adler is Senior Director of Environmental Policy at the Competitive Enterprise Institute in Washington, DC.

Warming without Regrets

The continued failure of the Earth to warm as predicted by computer models has not cooled the Clinton-Gore Administration's commitment to a global warming treaty. Among the proposals trotted out in the President's State of the Union message was a bill to give companies "credits" for reducing greenhouse gas emissions in anticipation of a global treaty.

Under the President's plan, companies that cut emissions would obtain credits that could be applied against whatever emission caps are imposed as part of the United Nations' Kyoto Protocol. Because the credits are worth anything only if emission limits are imposed, the credit scheme will create a business constituency for treaty ratification. Thus, endorsing the President's credit scheme is tantamount to ratifying the Kyoto Protocol.

Some erstwhile opponents of the Kyoto Protocol are tempted by the President's plan because they want something to be "for" in the global warming debate even as they oppose the treaty. They yearn for a "positive" message to combine with their treaty opposition. Yet the scientific jury is still out on whether global warming is a serious threat. And enacting the Kyoto Protocol would impose substantial restrictions on energy use, with dramatic repercussions for the American way of life.

Fortunately, there is an alternative. Rather than creating new government programs and restrictions on energy use, we should eliminate government interventions in the marketplace that discourage emission reductions and the adoption of cleaner technologies. Such an approach would provide economic and environmental benefits whether or not climate change is a serious threat.

Removal of Barriers to Innovation

In competitive markets, companies and entrepreneurs are constantly seeking to reduce their costs. Energy use is a cost of production. Unfortunately, environmental regulations are often a substantial barrier to energy-saving innovation. As a recent study by the Environmental Law Institute concluded, "technology-based emission limits and discharge standards, which are embedded in most of our pollution laws, play a key role in discouraging innovation." Once a technology is anointed as the preferred pollution control method, there is substantially less incentive to introduce newer technologies, even if they would improve environmental performance.

These problems are compounded by the substantial paperwork and uncertainty that are inherent in the permitting processes mandated under various environmental statutes. For instance, as the ELI report noted, "[t]he permitting process [under the Clean Air Act] can also discourage innovation by making the approval process for new technologies lengthier, more cumbersome, and less certain than for conventional approaches."

Elimination of Energy Subsidies

While environmentalists rail against the use of fossil fuels, the federal government spends tens of millions of dollars every year subsidizing the use of fossil fuels. For instance, in fiscal year 1997, fossil energy research and development at the Department of Energy received $365 million. The Clean Coal Technology Program (CCTP), which subsidizes additional coal-related research, has cost taxpayers approximately $1.5 billion since its inception (although it spent only $12 million in fiscal 1997).

Even worse, while costing taxpayers dearly, these programs produce minimal benefits. They should be abolished. The potential threat of global warming, whether real or not, is simply one more reason to remove this burden on taxpayers.

> *We should eliminate government policies that discourage emission reductions and the adoption of cleaner technologies.*

Deregulation of Electricity Markets

Environmental groups consistently maintain that alternative energy sources are ready to compete in an open marketplace; deregulation will give them that chance. Indeed, in deregulated markets, alternative energy sources may well benefit if consumers are willing to pay a slight premium for low-emission fuel sources. Companies such as Green Mountain Energy Resources and Enron are already offering consumers such a choice. Moreover, the opportunity to compete with more traditional fuel sources will spur greater investment in the development and marketing of alternative energy sources currently constrained in their ability to compete.

Regardless of whether global warming is a serious threat, the safest course is to reduce barriers to technological innovation and the adoption of cleaner technologies. Such a strategy will reduce the threat of human-induced climate change while spurring technological innovation and economic development. This is the best insurance policy for to an uncertain future.

PolicyFax

Available on ***PolicyFax***

Technological Development in the Motor Vehicle Industry and Climate Change

The Kyoto Protocol, by concentrating on emissions rather than new technologies, may actually retard reductions in greenhouse gas reductions. (General Motors, 1998).

Call 312/377-3000
Request document #2329442 (13pp.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Health Care

Twila Brase, RN, PHN

Public health nurse
Twila Brase is president of
Citizens' Council on Health Care.

Is "Healthy Families" a Healthy Program?

Undoubtably every mother would like help with her newborn infant. But how many would willingly submit their families to rigorous government surveillance?

Home visiting programs, the latest child abuse prevention strategy, send government-funded "visitors" into family homes to determine the quality of parenting, the use of health care services, compliance with immunization schedules, and the safety of the home. The information that visitors collect is kept on file for tracking purposes. Congressman Henry Hyde (R-Illinois) has called these programs "cradle-to-grave tracking of newborns" and "big brother intervention as we have never seen before."

Home visiting is the thrust of Healthy Families America (HFA), a nationwide initiative developed by the National Committee to Prevent Child Abuse (NCPCA). Support for Healthy Families comes from the Family Preservation and Support program. Initially targeting "at-risk" children and families, it is expanding to encompass *all* families, in keeping with its vision "that one day, all new parents will receive the education and support they need at the time their baby is born and in the months and years thereafter."

> *Home visiting programs represent "cradle-to-grave tracking of newborns" and "big brother intervention as we have never seen before."*

Parental participation is voluntary—for now. But as Gay Bakken, a county planner, told the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, "oftentimes, the families who need our help the most are the ones who say no thanks." In time, those who do not volunteer may be—by their very act of noncooperation—suspected of child abuse.

While no one can argue the merits of protecting children, the deceptive and intrusive nature of home visiting programs can and should be argued against. New moms, pleased with any opportunity to receive free advice, are rarely informed that the home visitor is not there primarily to help the mother or answer her questions but to observe the family, educate family members according to state-defined goals, and report on their progress—or resistance. In Minnesota, a 1997 law rates the effectiveness of universal home visiting by the following criteria:

- "appropriate child growth, development, and access to health care;
- appropriate utilization of preventive healthcare and medical care for acute illnesses;
- lower rates of substantiated child abuse and neglect;
- up-to-date immunizations;
- a reduction in unintended pregnancies;
- increasing families' understanding of lead poisoning prevention;
- lower rates of unintentional injuries; and
- fewer hospitalizations and emergency room visits."

Although several amendments requiring informed consent were offered by concerned legislators during the drafting of the Minnesota law, proponents of home visiting defeated them by claiming that requiring informed consent would have "a chilling effect" on the state's ability to discover child abuse. Thus the legislature denied families the right to know the true intent of the government-funded visitors. As a result, few families know that they are under the judgmental gaze of a data-collecting parent monitor.

Where will the data be stored? The NCPCA is developing a uniform system for "describing the number and characteristics of families receiving services." This system, called the Program Information Management System (PIMS), will "track information on assessments of families," including "household characteristics, participant characteristics, risk factors for abusing or maltreating children, home visits/services . . . outcomes . . . and termination information."

Abuse is not a clearly defined term—which should be a cause for concern, especially when abuse prevention programs send government-funded monitors into the homes of unsuspecting parents. Some of the home visitors may be public health nurses who are trained to see signs of child abuse, but others may have no medical or child development training. All the visitors may have biases that influence their reports. Some may believe that refusing to immunize children or sending them to bed without supper for disobedience is physical abuse. Others may say that mothers who leave their children at day care are depriving them of family bonding and therefore increasing their risk of illness and injury. In addition, it is clear that most home visitors are trained to see any type of corporal punishment as child abuse—even mild spanking.

The ultimate goal of the Healthy Families America initiative is the integration of home visiting into managed care organizations, along with mandatory reporting. Before a home visitor comes knocking, mothers concerned about the preservation, privacy, and integrity of their families may want to think twice before welcoming their new visitors.

Fax

Available on ***PolicyFax***

The Parent Trainers: A Nationwide Study of Home Visitation Programs

Learn more from this state-by-state analysis. (The Alabama Physicians Resource Council and the Alabama Family Alliance, March 1999).

Call 312/377-3000
Order documents #3213301 (summary, 2pp.) and #3213405 (15pp.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Law

Matthew Berry

Matthew Berry is an attorney with the Washington, DC-based Institute for Justice, which filed a friend of the court brief in *Anderson v. Roe*.

Assault on Welfare Reform Moves to U.S. Supreme Court

Do welfare recipients have a constitutional right to generous benefits? On January 13, the U.S. Supreme Court took up this issue when it heard oral arguments in *Anderson v. Roe*. In dispute is the constitutionality of California's effort to stop welfare recipients from moving into the Golden State in order to receive higher welfare benefits.

The California statute under attack caps new residents' cash-aid welfare benefits for one year to the level offered by their previous home state. For example, welfare recipients moving from Oklahoma to California would receive Oklahoma's monthly payment—$307 a month—during their first year in California, rather than the $575 a month typically provided by the Golden State.

To most, California's law, explicitly authorized by Congress in the 1996 federal welfare reform legislation, represents a common-sense attempt to protect the state's treasury from new demands for aid. Other states have enacted similar laws to stem the inflow of new welfare claimants and thus allow states to concentrate their energies and resources on moving existing recipients from welfare to work.

But to welfare-rights advocates, these laws are an unconstitutional infringement on the right to travel. Confusing the genuine right to migrate from state to state free from government interference with a nonexistent right to have the government subsidize one's travel, opponents of welfare reform have filed several suits seeking to block states from implementing these important initiatives.

Unfortunately, these suits are not an isolated phenomenon. While welfare reform continues to be popular among the general public and politicians of both major parties, organizations committed to the perpetuation of the welfare state, such as the ACLU and National Clearinghouse for Legal Services, have launched a little-noticed but quite dangerous attack on welfare reform in courts across the nation. Their aim is to sabotage virtually every crucial element of current reform efforts—even as the dramatic drop in the number on the nation's welfare rolls demonstrates the success of such policies.

The U.S. Supreme Court made it clear in the 1970 case of *Dandridge v. Williams* that there is no fundamental right to receive welfare benefits. This has not, however, stopped welfare advocates from deploying a wide range of creative arguments in defense of the failed status quo. In New York City, for instance, students at the City University of New York sued in an attempt to evade the city's requirement that all welfare recipients who are able to work do so in exchange for their benefits. Some 5,000 students claimed they were physically unable to work yet somehow managed to take classes at CUNY.

In Massachusetts, advocates of the status quo are attempting to evade that state's two-year time limit on benefits by claiming that fully one-third of those on the Bay State's welfare rolls are learning disabled and thus cannot work. This assertion no doubt would come as a surprise to the millions of individuals with learning disabilities who are gainfully employed in the United States today.

Oftentimes it is not the welfare recipients themselves complaining, but others with a vested interest in opposing reform. Public employee unions in New York City, for example, have sued in an attempt to prevent workfare participants from performing elementary jobs, such as painting. And in Texas, workers in the state's social services bureaucracy have gone to court in an attempt to block Governor Bush's effort to privatize the state's job placement efforts for those on welfare.

Besides insisting that recipients work, another key aim of reformers is to reduce both illegitimacy and teenage pregnancy. A central strategy to accomplishing this goal is to end the practice of increasing a recipient's welfare check each time she has another child. But welfare advocacy organizations have sued to block this change as well. Lawsuits have been filed in both New Jersey and Indiana challenging "family cap" policies, asserting in practical terms that recipients have a constitutional right to a larger handout whenever they have an additional child. Although they lost their federal lawsuit in New Jersey, welfare reform opponents displayed their tenacity by marching right into state court asserting similar claims under the state constitution. Meanwhile, research has revealed that New Jersey's family cap has successfully reduced the birthrate of the Garden State's welfare recipients.

Will the Court reaffirm its well-considered refusal to establish a constitutional right to welfare?

So while *Anderson v. Roe* is important on the merits of the California law itself, it is also critical because the Supreme Court's decision on the case will send a signal to the lower courts presently considering the coordinated flood of lawsuits brought by welfare advocates. Will the Court reaffirm its well-considered refusal to establish a constitutional right to welfare? Or will it open the door to judicial micro-management of each state's social welfare policy? Those All of those heartened by the remarkable success of welfare reform to date should pay close attention to the Court's answer.

PFax

Available on ***PolicyFax***

Ending Welfare as We Know It

California has had one of the most extensive welfare programs in the country. It offers valuable lessons for the rest of the country. (Pacific Legal Foundation, May 1997).

Call 312/377-3000
Request documents #9275408 (14pp.) and #9275409 (14pp.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AMERICA'S NEWSPAPER

The Washington Times

March 22, 1998 NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION $2.50 (U.S.)

Clinton legal team balloons, creating a new controversy

Official doesn't know lawyers' scandal role

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The chief White House administrator said March 12 that she does not know whether White House lawyers are handling personal legal chores for the first family.

"I do not know specifically," Ada Posey, director of administration for the White House, told a House panel probing reports that President Clinton is misusing tax dol-

Four-person office grew to 34 since '92

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The White House counsel's office has swollen to become the largest and most expensive West Wing legal operation in history.

Initially a four-person office in early 1993, President Clinton's legal shop has grown to 34 lawyers, paralegals and researchers at a cost to taxpayers of $2.36 million in salaries annually, according to internal administra-

Influential, Widely Quoted, Unapologetic.

Now you can see why *The Washington Times* has become the talk of the nation! It takes the best of our award-winning daily news coverage and makes it available to you every week —no matter where you live!

The Washington Times. Revealing the truth. Refreshing! It's the only daily newspaper in the nation with the courage to cover news honestly — without the liberal spin you always get in *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times.* And now our new NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION brings the best of it right to your door every week!

The Washington Times NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION!

Subscribe now for 1 or 2 years for as little as 87¢ per week. You'll also receive *Capital Contacts — absolutely free!**

Yes! Sign me up and save me a bundle with The Washington Times National Weekly Edition. And don't forget my Free copy of *Capital Contacts*!

❑ 1 Year **Only $59.95** ❑ 2 Years **Only $89.95** ❑ 6 Months **Only $34.95**

CHOOSE PAYMENT METHOD: ❑ Visa ❑ Mastercard ❑ AMEX ❑ Discover ❑ Check/Money Order Enclosed ❑ Bill Me

SEND MY SUBSCRIPTION TO:

Name _____

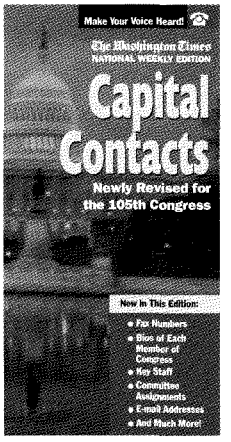
Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Credit Card # _____ Exp. Date _____

Signature _____ Phone (____) _____



Remember, you pay their salaries! Don't be shy about telling your Senators and Congressmen exactly what you want! Now you can with ***Capital Contacts*** — YOURS FREE with your one or two-year paid subscription to *The Washington Times NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION.* This hefty, 190-page, spiral-bound guide puts the phone and fax numbers of every U.S. Senator, Congressman, government agency, and White House Cabinet member at your fingertips. This book shows you how it's done and provides proven inside tips for reaching your elected representatives!

* Complimentary copy of ***Capital Contacts*** available for 1 or 2-year paid subscribers only (while supplies last.)

Make checks payable to: The Washington Times NWE Clip & Mail with payment to: P.O. Box 96601, Washington, DC 20090

For lightning-fast delivery, call 1-800-363-9118 (Mention express code: UHJABE)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Privatization

Adrian Moore

Adrian Moore is director of economic studies for the Reason Public Policy Institute.

Streamlining Made Easier

Many attempts to inject competition and market forces into government operations fail. As policy analysts have examined hundreds of programs at every level of government across the country and around the world, they have identified six key political and organizational strategies for successfully implementing a competition program.

1. Be a Political Champion

A revolution doesn't just happen. Quantum changes require forceful leaders who possess a coherent vision of a new and better governance. While citizens must provide the impetus for dramatic change by expressing their discontent, only leadership can direct that energy into constructive channels.

2. Adopt a Comprehensive Approach

A common approach to privatization is to announce a pilot project in one of the departments and then see how it goes. Such an approach likely will doom your competition program to failure before you even get started. Why? The opponents of privatization will all gang up on the one unlucky manager who happens to have the only privatization program in town.

A better approach is to announce that you are launching a comprehensive competition program. Start off with several projects in each of the major departments, and expand from there.

3. Don't Study it to Death

Also known as "death by committee." This process gives the illusion of progress, then degenerates into an exercise in generating paper. A number of state and local governments have spent years grinding through the process of learning what works and what doesn't. Steal ideas from them.

4. Create a High-Level Executive Position and Specialized Unit to Manage Outsourcing Relationships

Successful and innovative service increasingly depends on being able to manage a network of service providers and market-based arrangements (vouchers, internal markets, and public-private partnerships). Doing so effectively requires creating a new high-level position whose responsibilities include establishing, maintaining, and cultivating outsourcing relationships. These new government executives will have to handle a variety of complex issues and relationships such as employee transitions; asset transfers; developing outcomes, performance goals, and penalties; terminations; dispute resolution; and risk management.

In addition, a centralized unit should be established to manage the privatization process and build up a critical mass of knowledge about streamlining issues. Such a unit also would act as an institutional advocate for reform, publicizing and riding herd over departments that drag their feet.

5. Uncouple the Purchaser and the Provider

When the purchaser and provider are split, policy and regulatory functions are separated from service delivery and compliance functions.

Splitting policy functions from service delivery creates incentives for governments to become more discriminating consumers, looking beyond government monopoly providers to a wide range of public and private providers. An example is Kansas, where the agency that previously delivered child welfare services, such as adoption and foster care, no longer delivers those services to Kansas children—it purchases them. The agency is almost exclusively a purchaser of services and contract monitor.

A number of state and local governments have spent years grinding through the process of learning what works and what doesn't. Steal ideas from them.

6. Design an Employee Adjustment Strategy

Privatization is a political process. Despite evidence of sizable cost savings, public officials often face strong opposition to privatization and competitive contracting. The greatest political opposition comes from public employees and their unions. Experience in the United States and overseas has demonstrated that making certain workers are treated fairly during privatization is vital. And a number of surveys show that in well-managed privatization efforts, leads to less than 10 percent of the government agency's workforce is laid off.

The best way to reduce opposition is to communicate to workers a commitment to fair treatment. Keeping employees informed can reduce antagonism and avoid the morale problems often associated with organizational change. Techniques that can attenuate the impact on current workers include:

- work within the rate of natural attrition.
- encourage or require first consideration by contractors.
- offer early retirement incentives.
- allow public departments to bid for contracts.

Available on *PolicyFax*

Competitive Neutrality

If competition between public and private sectors is to be a useful tool, the competition must be fair. Here's a soup-to-nuts guide. (Reason Public Policy Foundation, March 1998).

Call 312/377-3000

Request documents #6532313 (summary, 2pp.), #6532409 (part 1, 11pp.), #6532410 (part 2, 12pp.), and #6532411 (part 3, 15pp.).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Regulation

Murray Weidenbaum

Murray Weidenbaum is chairman of the Center for the Study of American Business.

Regulating Electronic Commerce

The current rage in Washington is to try to regulate electronic commerce (such as sales of products via the Internet). Given the long and sad experience with regulating business, Congress should stop, look, and listen before it acts.

The stakes are high. Even if the *current*, explosive growth rate of electronic commerce slows down significantly, a very substantial portion of the national economy will be involved in coming decades. There are important lessons to be learned from examining the nation's past efforts to regulate private-sector economic activity.

Number one: Don't rush to regulate. Once a regulatory system is in place, it is extremely difficult to reform it. Those who benefit from the regulation quickly become a powerful and often very emotional lobby against change. Unfortunately, the way the national legislature usually proceeds almost guarantees that newly written regulations will be poorly written.

Members of Congress devote most of their time and energy to highly publicized hearings on the nature of "the problem." The actual writing of the law is such a hasty matter that senators and representatives rarely have a fully drafted bill in front of them when they vote on the new regulatory statute. Usually, the staff is still working on the details. Once a regulatory system is in place, it is extremely difficult to reform it. Those who benefit from the regulation quickly become a powerful—and often very emotional—lobby against change.

Number two: Don't ignore the unexpected side effects. Every regulatory statute generates a wide variety of consequences—good and bad—that are unintended or unexpected by proponents of the law. Members of Congress need to carefully examine the case for the proposed new law, especially in light of the concerns raised by the people who would be affected. The latter may not exactly be disinterested observers—not that the proponents can be so characterized either—but they may be far more knowledgeable about the likely practical consequences.

Number three: Don't assume that "market failure" will be fully cured by government intervention. Shortcomings in the private sector (such as inadequately informed consumers and other so-called "market failures") are typically cited as the rationale for government involvement in the private economy. However, the enthusiasts for proposed new laws usually overlook the other side of the case—inadequacies in the bureaucratic processes of the public sector, which can be labeled "government failure." Until the analysis is made, the open-minded citizen does not know whether the case for the new proposal is compelling or not.

Number four: Carefully weigh the advantages and disadvantages of the proposal, both quantitatively and qualitatively. This lesson does not automatically clinch the case for performing a quantitative benefit/cost analysis, but it leads in that direction. As a long-term user and reviewer of benefit/cost analysis, I caution the reader, before embracing the conclusions, to check the key assumptions underlying the analysis and the reasonableness of the methodology used.

Evaluating the advantages and disadvantages of a proposal is far more than a statistical or accounting matter. Many of the effects of regulation cannot be readily quantified, especially in dollar terms. What is required is careful judgment. Thus, under many circumstances, the most appropriate analysis may simply be a considered conclusion that the benefits of the new regulatory statute are worth the costs (or that they are not).

A word of caution: this approach is hardly the same as the frequently encountered emotional statement that the object is so compelling that we are willing to spend any amount to achieve it. That attitude is a virtual recipe for waste, bureaucratic arrogance, and inefficiency.

> *We should resist the temptation to create an Internet Commerce Commission.*

Number five: If in doubt, don't regulate. There is no shortage of laws, rules, and regulations already on the books. They fill a good-size library. Moreover, the existing regulatory system taxes the limits of the government's enforcement capability.

Frequently, the elimination of some archaic rule, regulation, or statutory requirement would adequately meet the concerns of those who are advocating government regulation of electronic commerce. Let me recall that the now-extinct Interstate Commerce Commission goes unmourned. We should resist the temptation to create an Internet Commerce Commission.

Available on ***PolicyFax***

A New Approach to Regulatory Reform

Past efforts at regulatory reform have failed because they focused on the way agencies write regulations. It's time to require estimates of costs and benefits in legislation. (Center for the Study of American Business, 1998).

Call 312/377-3000
Request document #7272407 (15pp.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Taxes

Bill Ahern

Bill Ahern is Communications Director for the Tax Foundation.

Tax Hikes Despite Surplus

Ostensibly to bolster the Social Security and Medicare programs, President Clinton's FY2000 budget plans use three-quarters of the next decade's growing budget surpluses to pay down the federal debt. Another 12 percent would fund private savings accounts, with the balance going to new spending initiatives.

The President proposes a two-pronged effort to increase the surpluses: increasing the already record-high peacetime level of federal taxation, and holding the line on most types of federal spending.

The Clinton plan contains a mix of tax and fee increases that would boost federal revenues by $45.8 billion over the next five years. The President proposes to hike the federal cigarette tax 55 cents per pack and raise corporate income taxes. Revenue-reducers include myriad tax credits that would subsidize a wide variety of activities, including first-time home purchases in the District of Columbia.

Often, the administration publishes a distributional analysis of a new tax, showing which taxpayers are likely to shoulder the burden, but it has not published one for the new taxes in the FY2000 budget. If it had, the analysis would have shown that the new revenue proposals hurt low- and moderate-income taxpayers, as shown in the chart below.

Most of the increased tax burden would fall on individuals with adjusted gross incomes less than $75,000, with the bulk being borne by those making less than $25,000. Individuals in this lowest income group would bear 38.5 percent, or $17.7 billion, of the increased tax burden. People in the $25,000 to $50,000 range would pay 22.4 percent, or $10.2 billion, and people making $50,000 to $75,000 would pay $6.7 billion in additional taxes, or approximately 14.6 percent of the total. In sum, over 75 percent of the new tax burden will be paid by low- and middle-income taxpayers.

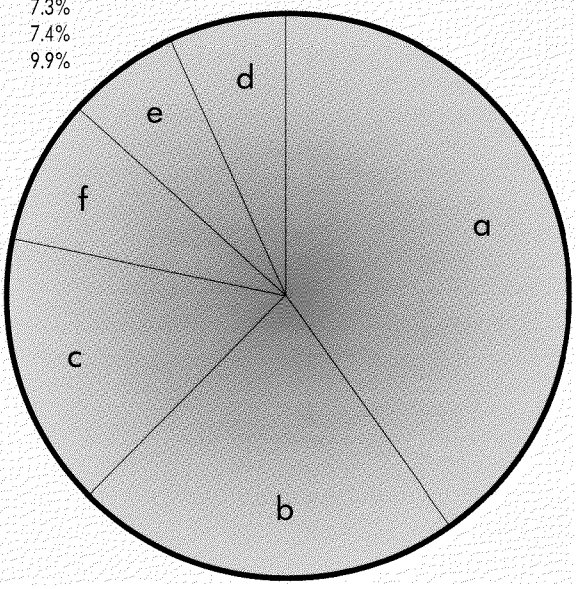
The President's new revenue proposals hurt low- and moderate-income taxpayers.

People in the top three income ranges would also pay more in taxes, but their share of the increased tax burden is significantly smaller. Altogether, people in these three categories would pay only 24.5 percent of the increased tax burden.

The slant against low- and middle-income taxpayers is largely a result of the proposal to boost the federal cigarette tax. Of all federal taxes, the cigarette tax is the most regressive. Americans with an adjusted gross income (AGI) of less than $30,000 paid over half of the nearly $6 billion collected in cigarette taxes during fiscal year 1998. Those with AGIs less than $10,000 pay 0.7 percent of their income in cigarette taxes, compared to less than 0.1 percent for taxpayers who make more than $30,000.

Who Will Bear the Burden of Federal Tax Hikes?

Adjusted Gross Income	New Taxes Paid (in billions)	Share of New Tax Burden
a. $1 to $24,999	$17.7	38.5%
b. $25,000 to $49,999	10.2	22.4%
c. $50,000 to $74,999	6.7	14.6%
d. $75,000 to $99,999	3.3	7.3%
e. $100,000 to $199,999	3.4	7.4%
f $200,000 or more	4.5	9.9%
Total	$45.8	



PolicyFax

Available on *PolicyFax*

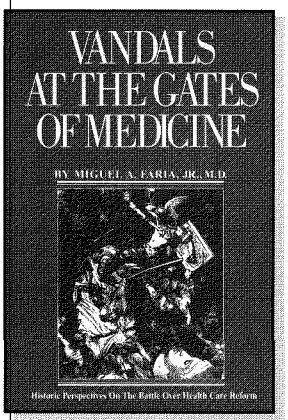
There's No Excuse for a Higher Cigarette Tax

Higher cigarette taxes aren't meant to discourage smoking, but to fund a mammoth increase in government spending. (Institute for Research on the Economics of Taxation, April 1998).

Call 312/377-3000
Request document #8021406 (16pp.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Add These Timeless Resources to Your Library



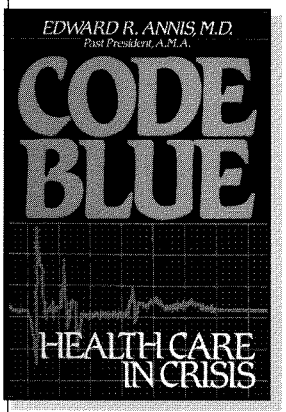
Vandals At The Gates of Medicine

Historic Perspectives on The Battle Over Health Care Reform

Miguel A. Faria, Jr., M.D.

Miguel A. Faria, Jr., M.D. provides compelling arguments that answers to the dilemma of health care reform reside on the pages of history. This fascinating book draws parallels between the past and the present, from a time when the fine line separating myth and history was blurred and indistinguishable to the clearly troubled present.

(403 pp., 1995, Illustrations, Bibliography, Index, ISBN: 0-9641077-0-8, $41.95)



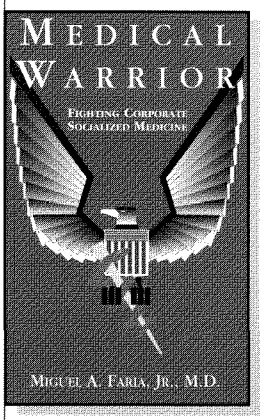
Code Blue

Health Care In Crisis

Edward R. Annis, M.D.

What the press doesn't tell the public—but Dr. Annis does—is that health care problems have a "Made in Washington" label. *Code Blue* shows how with "minimal changes in our tax laws, Medisave accounts would empower the patient by breaking the tie between job and health insurance and even would allow the gradual phasing out of Medicare."

(278 pp., 1993, Index, ISBN: 0-89526-515-X, $21.95)



NEW!

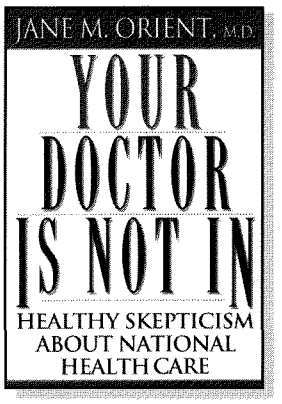
Medical Warrior

Fighting Corporate Socialized Medicine

Miguel A. Faria, Jr., M.D.

In this book of essays, Dr. Faria, argues that managed care and HMOs are not "free market" alternatives, but rather an unholy partnership of government and corporate interests seeking monopolistic government protection to eliminate competition while changing the ethics of medicine from a Hippocratic ethic to a false corporate morality. *Medical Warrior* offers workable solutions to restore medicine to its rightful place.

(207 pp., 1997, Selected Bibliography, Index, ISBN: 0-9641077-2-4, $23.95)

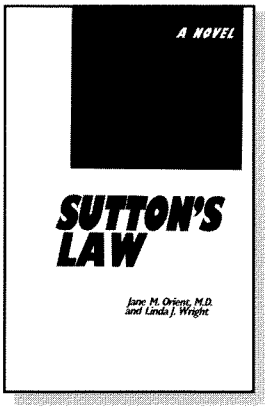


Your Doctor Is Not In

Jane M. Orient, M.D.

In this provocative book, a brilliant, committed physician, a leader in medicine argues for solutions to the crisis in medicine that are bold, thoughtful, and fundamentally opposed to those being widely touted today—including "managed care" systems. From her perspective, there is already too much government involvement in medicine, too much regulation, too much insurance—which is actually prepayment in disguise. These are the root causes of the accelerating rise in fees and costs, the neglect of patients, and stagnation in the science of medicine itself. This book is certain to add fresh energy to the debate over the quality and availability of medical care in America.

(276 pp., 1994, Index, ISBN: 0-517-59011-5, $23.00)



NEW!

Sutton's Law

Jane M. Orient, M.D. and Linda J. Wright

Sutton's Law is a "frightening realistic novel about where managed care might very well lead us...A mix of medicine, mystery, murder, and intrigue with a little high finance, drugs, and romance—*Sutton's Law* ultimately is about greed and simple justice."

(299 pp., 1997, ISBN: 0-9641077-1-6, $21.95)

Qty	Item	Unit Price	Total Price
____	*Vandals at the Gates of Medicine*	$41.95	$_____
____	*Your Doctor Is Not In*	$23.00	$_____
____	*Code Blue*	$21.95	$_____
____	*Sutton's Law*	$21.95	$_____
____	*Medical Warrior*	$23.95	$_____
		Subtotal:	$_____
		Shipping & Handling	$ 3.00
		Total:	$_____

❒ Check or money order enclosed

Please charge my ❒ Visa ❒ Mastercard ❒ AMEX ❒ Discover

Card # _____ Expiration_____

Signature _____

Name: _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

800-757-9873

Hacienda Publishing, Inc. • P.O. Box 13648 • Macon, Georgia 31208-3648 • www.haciendapub.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Welfare

Robert Rector & Sarah Youssef

Robert Rector is a policy analyst and Sarah Youssef is a research assistant at The Heritage Foundation.

Illegitimacy Ratio Declining

Illegitimacy is the underlying cause of child poverty, welfare dependence, and most other social problems. The good news is illegitimacy is no longer increasing.

Since the 1960s the illegitimacy ratio, which is the percentage of all births that are births to unmarried women, has risen steadily, increasing more than 500 percent during the 35 years after 1960. But, beginning in 1995, the upward slope that had characterized the illegitimacy ratio for more than three decades has flattened out. The decrease has occurred in every ethnic group. As the graph below shows, the percentage of all births that were births to unmarried women grew from 5 percent in 1960 to 32.6 percent in 1994, leveling off to 32.3 percent in 1997.

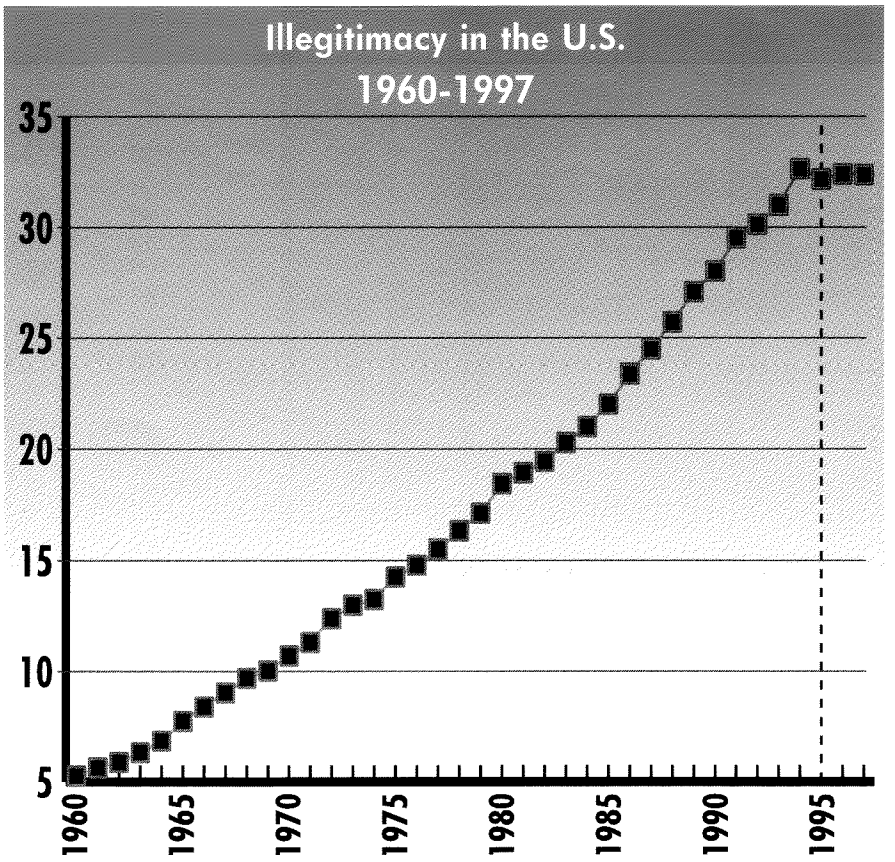
Reducing the illegitimacy ratio is an integral step in reducing child poverty and increasing the well-being of all children. A child born out-of-wedlock is 700 percent more likely to encounter poverty than a child born to a married couple. As a result, a child born out-of-wedlock is likely to spend 1700 percent more time on AFDC support than a child in an intact family.

Children born to unmarried mothers are on the whole more likely to experience retarded cognitive development; lower educational achievement; lower job attainment; increased behavioral and emotional problems; lower impulse control; and retarded social development. They are also more likely to bear children outside of marriage; engage in early sexual activity; engage in criminal activity; and be on welfare as adults.

What factors have contributed to the halt in growing illegitimacy? In the years preceding the decline in out-of-wedlock births, the debate in Washington over the crisis in illegitimacy grabbed media attention. Press coverage of the topic increased tenfold, carrying with it the vital message that having children outside of marriage is undesirable for children, parents, and society.

> *Let's hope the small decline in the out-of-wedlock birth rate over the past three years is a harbinger of the future.*

Let's hope the small decline in the out-of-wedlock birth rate over the past three years is a harbinger of the future. But even if the pattern does continue, there remains a tremendous amount of work to be done to curb illegitimacy. After all, the illegitimacy ratio in 1997 is still only .3 percent lower than the peak three years prior. States—and cultural institutions—must do what they can to coax the illegitimacy ratio back to the level of 1960.



PFax

Available on ***PolicyFax***

The Mother of All Welfare Problems

Over 40 percent of long-term welfare recipients gave birth for the first time when they were 17 years old or younger. How have communities responded? (*Governing*, January 1997).

Call 312/377-3000
Request document #2460101 (5pp.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You Say You Want a Rail-volution

by Robert Franciosi

The word "revolution" is a rarity in the dictionary in that it has two, contrary definitions. One of them is "a sudden, radical change." However, the first definition of "revolution" is the act of going around in circles, like the Earth orbiting the Sun. This is the most apt description of the advocates of "rail-volution."

The sun that attracts rail-volutionaries is the belief that the ideal future for every American city is to return full circle to the past; to recreate a typical Midwest city circa 1910. The rail-volutionary credo has two main tenets: 1) strong support for building trolley lines, now referred to as light rail; and 2) adoration of Portland, Oregon as the model for all cities to follow.

Before we try to copy Portland, it is worthwhile to see exactly what the city's light rail system, known as MAX, has accomplished during the twelve years of its existence. John Charles, environmental policy director at the Cascade Policy Institute in Portland and former head of Oregon's oldest statewide environmental organization, has assembled the top ten light rail myths.

Myth Number One is that light rail reduces traffic congestion. In fact, between 1986 and 1995 average daily trips on a main Portland freeway increased by 38 percent despite a parallel rail line. During rush hour the freeway carries 11.6 times more riders than MAX. Rail also does very little to improve air quality. It is estimated that the South/North rail line would reduce nitrogen oxide emissions by 1/1,000th, less than the reduction in pollution from the retirement of older, higher polluting cars.

Two beliefs that light rail supporters hold are perplexing because, if true, they would be contradictory. The first is that light rail encourages the development of compact cities, reducing sprawl. The second is that light rail improves mobility. A moment's thought reveals that making it easier for people to move around actually would encourage more spread-out patterns of development.

The best example of this, ironically, is rail itself. At the turn of the century, the advent of rail lines helped people move away from the dense central cities to what were then called "streetcar suburbs." Up through the 1950s, the typical suburban morning found wives driving their husbands in the family car to the station to catch the train downtown. Cars only increased the pace of the change.

The only reason rail-volutionaries could hold the ideas of compact development and increased mobility in their heads at the same time is that, subconsciously, they know that rail represents a deterioration in mobility compared to the car, even in the modern American city. Anyone who has relied on mass transit knows it requires walking, waiting, and carrying of packages to and from the stop. It is also slower. No train on the MAX system runs faster than 21 mph. The East-side trains operate at 19 mph, only 5 mph faster than the trolleys in Portland 105 years ago.

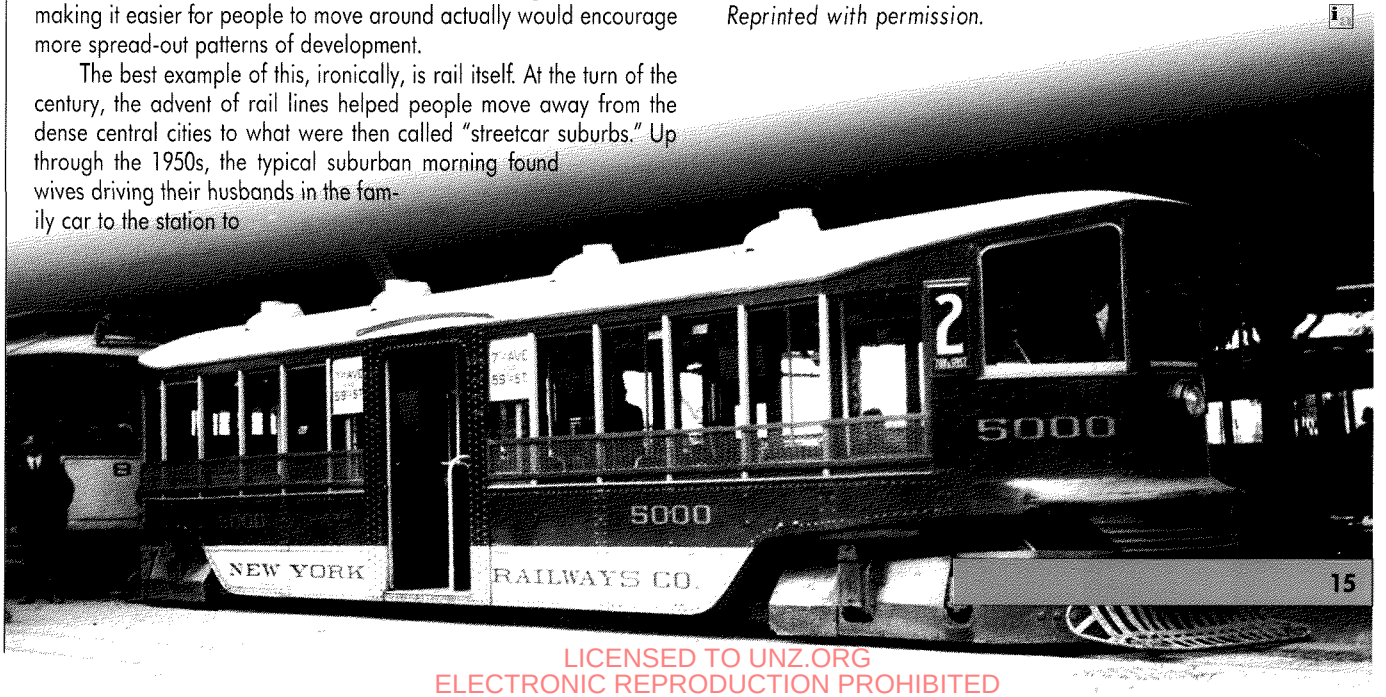
> *"Rail represents a deterioration in mobility compared to the car, even in the modern American city."*

The first victims of the rail-volution are typically bus riders. When the East-side MAX opened in Portland, two express bus routes were canceled. Other buses were rerouted to become feeders for the rail line. Former bus commuters were forced to take the train, which is slower than the former express buses and involved a transfer, or take their cars. A proposed rail expansion would decrease capacity by 8.3 percent, or 718 seats, because the trains cannot carry as many people as the buses they would displace.

Like all true believers, the rail-volutionaries believe they have the universal solution that will work in cities as diverse as Portland and Phoenix, Manhattan, and Mesa. People have demonstrated over and over a preference for low-density development, a design that makes using transit very inconvenient. Policy makers should work on developing ways to preserve the lifestyle we have chosen, rather than trying to convince us to choose another.

❖

Robert Franciosi is a research fellow at the Goldwater Institute. Reprinted with permission.



Intellectual Ammunition March/April 1999 © The Heartland Institute

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Coalition Launches Resourceful Earth Day Campaign

Resourceful Earth Day is an occasion for celebrating human ingenuity and debating its role in protecting the environment. Resourceful Earth Day coincides with Earth Day, celebrated on April 22 each year since 1970.

Resourceful Earth Day takes its name from *The Resourceful Earth*, a book written and edited by Julian L. Simon and Herman Kahn (New York, NY: Basil Blackwell, 1984). Julian Simon, who died in 1998, was especially well known for his compelling arguments that human ingenuity constantly expands the supply of resources available to meet human needs, making human prosperity not only compatible with a protected natural environment, but even its prerequisite.

The idea that human progress is compatible with environmental protection was once widely accepted. Henry David Thoreau, well respected among environmental activists, wrote in Walden: "I know of no more encouraging fact than the unquestionable ability of man to elevate his life by conscious endeavor." More recently, Vice President Al Gore wrote, "We now have both the strongest economy and the cleanest environment in a generation."

Unfortunately, this spirit of optimism and recognition of progress is often missing from the news releases and fundraising letters of many environmental advocacy groups. Too many groups rely on scare tactics to attract public attention, and trust only big government to protect the environment. But these tactics, popular in the 1960s and 1970s, are increasingly obsolete and ineffective at the start of the 21st Century.

The sponsors of Resourceful Earth Day hope to inject a spirit of optimism and recognition of progress into the annual celebration of Earth Day. Nearly one hundred grassroots organizations, think tanks, and civic organizations located around the country are expected to write articles, issue news releases, make presentations, participate in debates, and arrange small group meetings on the relationship between human ingenuity and environmental protection.

Julian Simon's ideas posed a challenge to environmental orthodoxy, but never slipped into anti- environmentalism or empty pro-business apologetics. Similarly, the sponsors of Resourceful Earth Day intend to avoid such positions, and to focus instead on healthy debate and sound scholarship. Our goal is to shed light, not generate heat.

For more information about Resourceful Earth Day, please contact a participating organization.

For more information about Resourceful Earth Day activities in your neighborhood, contact one of the following participating organizations:

Atlas Economic Research Foundation
Fairfax, Virginia
703/934-6960

Capital Research Center
Washington, DC
202/483-6900
www.capitalresearch.org

Cascade Policy Institute
Portland, OR
503/242-0900
www.cascadepolicy.org

Cato Institute
Washington, DC
202/789-5240
www.cato.org

Center for the Study of American Business
St. Louis, MO
314/935-5630
www.csab.wustl.edu

Center of the American Experiment
Minneapolis, MN
612/338-3605
www.amexp.org

Citizens for a Sound Economy
Washington, DC
202/783-3870
www.cse.org

Competitive Enterprise Institute
Washington DC
202/331-1010
www.cei.org

***Environmental* Education Enterprises**
Ostrander, OH
740/368-9393

The Fraser Institute
Vancouver, Canada
604/688-0221
www.fraserinstitute.ca

The Heartland Institute
Chicago, IL
312/377-4000
www.heartland.org

The Heritage Foundation
Washington, DC
202/608-6220
www.heritage.org

Impact Voters of America
Deerfield, IL
847/948-1158

Independent Institute
Oakland, CA
510/632-1366
www.independent.org

Institute for Energy Research
Houston, TX
713/853-3062

Institute of Economic Affairs
London, England
+44-171-799-3745
www.iea.org.uk

Lexington Institute
Arlington, VA
703/522-5828

National Center for Policy Analysis
Dallas, TX
972/386-6272
www.ncpa.org

***National Center* for Public Policy Research**
Washington, DC
202/543-1286
www.nationalcenter.org

Pacific Research Institute
San Francisco, CA
415/989-0833
www.pacificresearch.org

People for the USA
Pueblo, CO
719/543-8421

PERC
Bozeman, MT
406/587-9591
www.perc.org

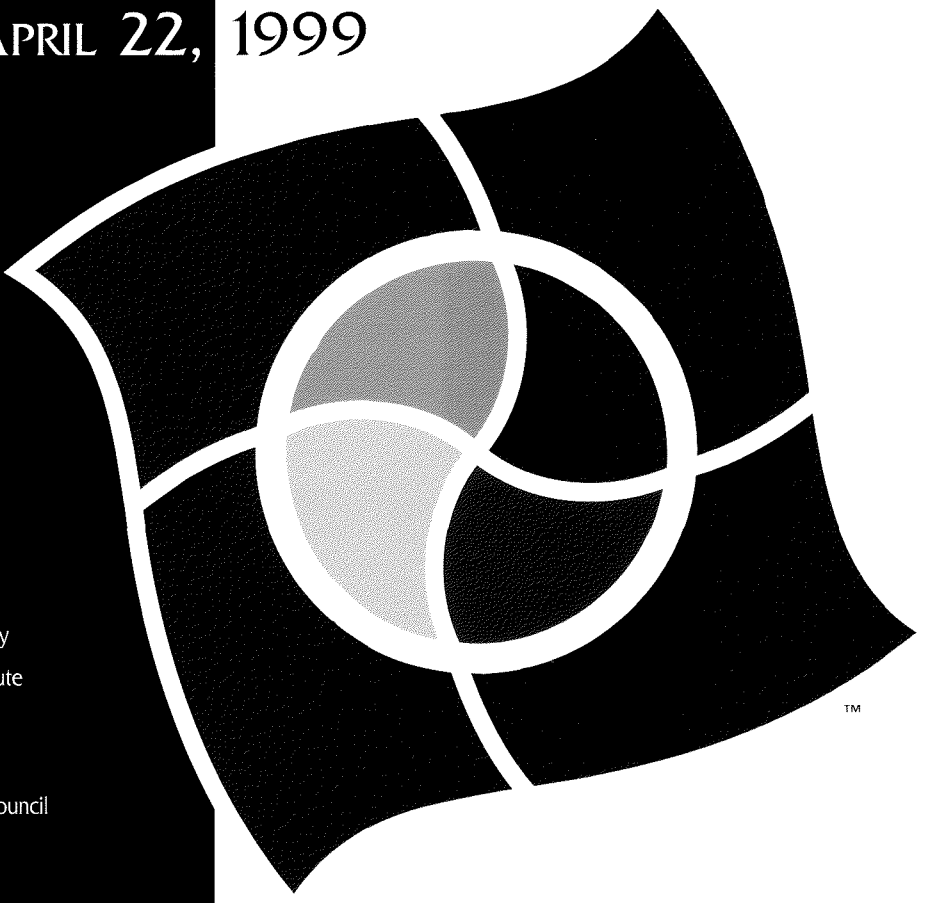
Reason Foundation
Los Angeles, CA
310/391-2245
www.reason.org

Intellectual Ammunition March/April 1999 © The Heartland Institute

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESOURCEFUL EARTH DAY

APRIL 22, 1999



- Acton Institute
- Atlas Economic Research Foundation
- Capital Research Institute
- Cascade Policy Institute
- Cato Institute
- Center for the Study of American Business
- Center of the American Experiment
- Citizens for a Sound Economy
- Competitive Enterprise Institute
- Ethan Allen Institute
- Fraser Institute
- Great Lakes Sports Fishing Council
- The Heartland Institute
- The Heritage Foundation
- Independent Institute
- Institute for Economic Affairs
- Institute for Energy Research
- Lexington Institute
- National Anxiety Center
- National Center for Policy Analysis
- National Center for Public Policy Research
- People for the USA
- PERC (Political Economy Research Center)
- Reason Public Policy Institute
- Science and Environmental Policy Project
- Washington Institute Foundation

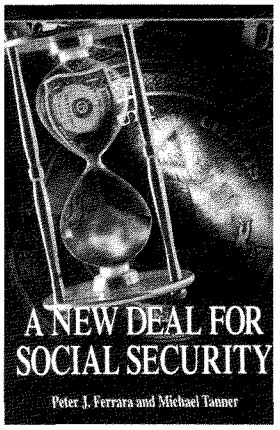
Resourceful Earth Day is an occasion for celebrating human ingenuity and debating its role in protecting the environment. It coincides with Earth Day, celebrated on April 22 each year.

Resourceful Earth Day takes its name from *The Resourceful Earth*, a book written and edited in 1984 by Julian L. Simon and Herman Kahn. Julian Simon was especially well known for his compelling proofs that human ingenuity constantly expands the Earth's resources, making human prosperity not only compatible with a protected environment, but even a prerequisite.

The sponsors of Resourceful Earth Day hope to inject this spirit of optimism and recognition of progress into the annual celebration of Earth Day. To join the Resourceful Earth Day Coalition or for more information, please call Lee Alan Lerner at 312/377-4000.

WE BELIEVE IN PROGRESS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



A New Deal for Social Security

by John La Plante

Peter J. Ferrara and Michael Tanner
A New Deal for Social Security
Cato Institute, 1998

The current bull market swells the coffers of IRAs and other retirement accounts. At the same time, Social Security is heading for bankruptcy. Peter Ferrara, an economist for Americans for Tax Reform, and Michael Tanner, a policy analyst at the Cato Institute, explain why Social Security is going broke, why a system of private retirement accounts should replace it, and how to get from here to there.

Visible and Invisible Costs

Social Security's Board of Trustees projects that the program will start to run a deficit by 2013, though it could start even sooner. The problem, in simple demographic terms, is this: More retirees, living longer, will require more support from a relatively unchanging number of workers.

According to the "medium case" official scenario, paying all the promised benefits for a young person entering the workforce today would require increasing the Social Security payroll tax rate from 12.4 percent to approximately 18 percent. Under the pessimistic (and more realistic) projection, the payroll tax rate would rise to 26 percent. Without a tax rate increase, benefits would have to be cut anywhere from 25 to 33 percent.

Social Security—a foundation of FDR's New Deal—is actually a very poor deal. Even under the most favorable conditions, Social Security gives a 2 percent "return" on taxes paid. By contrast, private capital markets have averaged, on an annual basis, a 9 percent return after inflation. A worker contributing an equivalent amount to a true investment account would receive at retirement at least twice the income provided by Social Security.

Ferrara and Tanner provide many detailed scenarios to illustrate that minimum-wage workers, African-Americans, women who work outside the home, stay-at-home moms, and others would fare better under a system of private investments.

Social Security's tax is much greater than what shows up on the pay stub. Over a lifetime, Social Security robs the average family of over $1 million—about three times the benefits of Social Security. It's not surprising then, that the current arrangement decreases GDP anywhere from 5 to 10 percent. The formula is brief: higher taxes, lower savings, less investment, slower economic growth.

But the case against Social Security cannot be measured in monetary terms alone. Social Security, a system born in political manipulation (described in graphic detail in chapter 2), breeds cynicism with its language of a (bogus) trust fund and forced "contributions." It fosters an attitude of dependency among workers. By crowding out private savings, it robs many people of the chance to become "capitalists" through ownership investments—and leads to needless and unproductive confrontations between labor and management.

> *Over a lifetime, Social Security robs the average family of over $1 million.*

Lessons from Overseas

Having explained why Social Security is a bad (and unsustainable) deal, Ferrara and Tanner describe how Chile, Great Britain, and other countries (including China!) are, to varying degrees, turning to a fully funded system of private accounts.

In Chile, employers withhold a portion of workers' pay, and send that to investment companies that have met standards of good management. The government pays, out of general revenues, a modest stipend to those individuals whose accounts fail to provide adequate income. In its 17 years of operation, the Chilean program has provided the typical retiree twice the income of his U.S. counterpart on Social Security—and at a lower cost.

Ferrara and Tanner also outline their preferred method of getting to a new system. They propose letting American workers and their employers each pay 5 percentage points of the current Social Security tax into a private account, with the balance continuing, for 10 years, to pay for the transition costs.

This is a thorough, and thoughtful, book. The authors do not simply present their facts and arguments, but they consider, and refute, the objections: that Social Security is a good deal, that a system of private accounts is undesirable, and that the current system can be fixed with only a minor tax increase. It is not light reading, but neither is it off-limits to the average reader.

For those who will be affected by Social Security—and that includes almost everyone who has ever earned income—this book is worth reading, if only to find out how yet another noble-sounding government program undermines the goals it publicly supports.

❖

John La Plante is managing editor of Intellectual Ammunition *and research assistant for The Heartland Institute. To order* A New Deal for Social Security, *contact the Cato Institute, 1000 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20001; www.cato.org. 265 pages, $10.95 paperback.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRIVATIZATION WATCH

A fact-filled monthly newsletter that keeps government officials and others informed about the latest developments in privatization. It includes latest trends, how-to tips and best practices, and breaking news. Relying on the data, sources, and expertise of the world-renowned RPPI Privatization Center, *Privatization Watch* provides insightful analysis on a broad spectrum of privatization policy.

www.rppi.org/privwatch.html

ORDER *PRIVATIZATION WATCH* TODAY. One year (12 issues) is $135 for private businesses or $75 for governments and nonprofits. Call 310-391-2245 or visit our website to order or for more information.

Free News, Free Facts

The Heartland Institute's *PolicyFax* has extensive research, commentary, and contacts in the following fields:

- Affirmative Action
- Crime
- Economic Development
- Education
- Environment
- Global Warming
- Gun Control
- Health Care
- Privatization
- Regulation
- Sports Stadiums
- Taxes
- Transportation
- Welfare

Instant Free Research By Fax

Call ***PolicyFax*** at 312•377•3000 and have your choice of nearly 5,000 essays, executive summaries, and complete studies sent instantly to your fax machine. This completely automated system works 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, and features research from over 250 think tanks and advocacy groups. (For a free 320-page catalog, call 312•377•4000.)

PolicyFax. The world's fastest, most convenient, most comprehensive, and most reliable source of public policy information!

Look for the *PolicyFax* icon in all three Heartland publications–*Intellectual Ammunition, School Reform News*, and *Environment News*–for the latest research and commentary.

Questions? Call 312/377-4000 or visit our website at www.heartland.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Contacts

The Abraham Lincoln Foundation
1710 Underpass Way, Hagerstown, MD 21740-6961

Acton Institute
161 Ottawa NW #301, Grand Rapids, MI 49503, 616/454-3080, info@acton.org

Accuracy in Academia
4455 Connecticut Ave NW #330, Washington, DC 20008, 202/364-3085, fax 202/364-4098

Accuracy in Media
4455 Connecticut Avenue NW #330, Washington, DC 20008, 202/364-4401, fax 202/364-4098, ar@take.aim.org

Advocates for Self-Government
1202 N. Tennessee Street #202, Cartersville, GA 30120, 770/386-8373, fax 770/386-8323

The Alabama Family Alliance
PO Box 59468, Birmingham, AL 35259, 205/870-9900, fax 205/870-4407, ptarget@aol.com

Alexis de Tocqueville Institution
1611 North Kent Street, #901, Arlington, VA 22209, 703/351-4969, fax 703/351-0090, adti@erols.com

Allegheny Institute for Public Policy
835 Western Avenue #300 Pittsburg, PA 15233-1715 412/231-6020, fax 412/231-6037

American Conservative Union
1007 Cameron Street, Alexandria, VA 22314, 703/836-8602, fax 703/836-8606

American Council on Science and Health,
1995 Broadway–2nd Floor, New York, NY 10023-5860, 212/362-7044, fax 212/362-4919, acshmail@aol.com

American Education Reform Foundation
3802 Springfield Overlook, Indianapolis, IN 46234 317/328-4711, fax 317/328-4712

American Enterprise Institute
1150 17th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036, 202/862-5800, fax 202/862-7178

American Institute for Economic Research
PO Box 1000, Great Barrington, MA 01230, 413/528-1216, fax 413/528-0103, aier@world.std.com

American Land Rights Association
30218 NE 82nd Avenue, Battle Ground, WA 98604 360/687-3087, fax 360/687-2973 alra@pacifier.com; www.landrights.org

American Legislative Exchange Council
910 17th Street NW–5th Floor, Washington, DC 20006, 202/466-3800, fax 202/466-3801

American Policy Center
13873 Park Center Road #316, Herndon, VA 22071 703/925-0881, fax 703/925-0991

Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street NW #200, Washington, DC 20036 202/785-0266, fax 202/785-0261

American Studies Institute
Harding University, Box 899, Searcy, AR 72149, 501/279-4497, fax 501/279-4076, gardner@harding.edu

America's Future Inc.
7800 Bonhomme, St. Louis, MO 63105, 314/725-6003, fax 314/721-3373, eamiller@basenet.net

Arizona Institute
7049 East Tanque Verde Road #386, Tucson, AZ 85715, 520/722-3300, fax 520/722-3335

Arkansas Family Council
1300 Westpark Drive #5-B, Little Rock, AR 72204, 501/664-4566, fax 501/664-2317

Arkansas Policy Foundation
Stephens Building, 111 Center Street #1610 Little Rock, AR 72201 501/376-9967, fax 501/376-6556

John M. Ashbrook Center
Ashland University, 401 College Avenue, Ashland, OH 44805, 419/289-5411, fax 419/289-5425

Association of American Physicians and Surgeons
1601 North Tucson Boulevard #9, Tucson, AZ 85716 602/327-4885

Atlantic Legal Foundation
205 East 42nd Street–9th Floor, New York, NY 10017, 212/573-1960

The Atlas Economic Research Foundation
4084 University Drive #103, Fairfax, VA 22030-6812, 703/934-6969, fax 703/352-7530, atlas@atlas-fdn.org

Beacon Hill Institute for Public Policy Research
Suffolk University, 8 Ashburton Place, Boston, MA 02108-2270, 617/573-8750, fax 617/720-4272, bhi@beaconhill.org

The Blum Center for Parental Freedom in Education
Marquette University, Brooks Hall 209, PO Box 1881, Milwaukee, WI 53201-1881, 414/288-7040, fax 414/288-3170, blumcenter@vms.csd.mu.edu

James Buchanan Center
4084 University Drive #208 Fairfax, VA 22030 703/934-6970, fax 703/934-1578, cmp@gmu.edu

The Buckeye Institute for Public Policy Solutions
131 North Ludlow Street #317, Dayton, OH 45402, 937/224-8352, fax 937/224-8457, buckeyeins@aol.com

California Public Policy Foundation
PO Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011, 805/445-9183

Calvert Institute
2806 North Calvert Street, Baltimore, MD 21218 410/662-7110, fax 410/662-7112

Capital Research Center
1513 16th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036-1401, 202/483-6900, fax 202/483-6902

Capitol Resource Institute
1314 H Street #203, Sacramento, CA 95814, 916/498-1940, fax 916/448-2888, capitolres@aol.com

Cascade Policy Institute
813 SW Alder Street #450, Portland, OR 97205, 503/242-0900, fax 503/242-3822, cascadepol@aol.com

Catalyst Institute
33 North LaSalle Street #1920, Chicago, IL 60602, 312/541-5415, fax 312/541-5401

Cato Institute
1000 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20001, 202/842-0200, fax 202/842-3490, cato@cato.org

Center for Independent Thought
938 Howard Street, San Francisco, CA 94103, 415/541-9780, fax 415/541-0597, orders@lfb.org

Center for Individual Rights
1300 19th Street NW #260, Washington, DC 20036, 202/833-8400, cir@mail.wdn.com

Center for the New West
600 World Trade Center, 1625 Broadway, Denver, CO 80021, 303/572-5400, fax 303/572-5499, cnwinfo@newwest.org

Center for Policy Studies
201 Sirrine Hall, Clemson University, Clemson, SC 29634, 803/656-1346, fax 803/656-4532

Center for the School Community
121 North Kickapoo, Lincoln, IL 62656, 217/732-6462, fax 217/732-3696

Center for the Study of American Business
Washington University, Box 1208, One Brookings Drive, St. Louis, MO 63130-4899, 314/935-5630, fax 314/935-5688, warren@csab.wustl.edu

Center for the Study of Popular Culture
9911 West Pico Boulevard #1290, Los Angeles, CA 90035, 310/843-3699, fax 310/843-3692

Center of the American Experiment
1024 Plymouth Building, 12 South Sixth Street, Minneapolis, MN 55402, 612/338-3605, fax 612/338-3621, amexp@amexp.org

CEO America
PO Box 1543, Bentonville, AR 72712, 501/273-6957, fax 501/273-9362, ceoa@aol.com

Citizens against Government Waste
1301 Connecticut Avenue NW #400, Washington, DC 20036, 202/467-5300, fax 202/467-4253

Citizens for a Sound Economy
1250 H Street NW #700, Washington, DC 20005-3908, 202/783-3870, fax 202/783-4687, cse@cse.org

Citizens for Choice in Health Care
1954 University Avenue West #8, St. Paul, MN 55104 612/646-8935, fax 612/646-0100, twila@cchc-mn.org

Citizens for Educational Choice
90 Highland Street, Milford, MA 01757, 508/634-6847

Citizens for Educational Freedom
12571 Northwinds Drive, St. Louis, MO 63146-4503, 314/434-4171

Citizens League
708 South 3rd Street #500, Minneapolis, MN 55415, 612/338-0791, fax 612/337-5919, lwray@epx.cis.umn.edu

The Claremont Institute
250 West First Street #330, Claremont, CA 91711, 909/621-6825, fax 909/626-8724, info@claremont.org

Choice in Education Foundation, Inc.
1821 University Ave. W. #305-S, St. Paul, MN 55104-2801, 612/644-8547

Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow
PO Box 65722, Washington, DC 20035, 202/429-2737, fax 301/858-0944, cfact@dgs.dgsys.com

The Commonwealth Foundation for Public Policy Alternatives
3544 North Progress Avenue #101, Harrisburg, PA 17110, 717/671-1901, fax 717/671-1905

Competitive Enterprise Institute
1001 Connecticut Avenue NW #1250, Washington, DC 20036, 202/331-1010, fax 202/331-0640, info@cei.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Congressional Institute, Inc.
316 Pennsylvania Avenue SE #403, Washington, DC 20003-1147, 202/547-4600, fax 202/547-3556
Change_leader@CongInst.org

Connecticut Policy and Economic Council, Inc.
99 Pratt Street #500, Hartford, CT 06103, 860/527-8177, fax 860/246-9790, cpec@aol.com

Constitutional Heritage Institute
608 North 108th Court, PO Box 540787, Omaha, NE 68154, 402/493-9155, fax 402/333-5193, chioffice@aol.com

Citizens for Choice in Health Care
1954 University Avenue West #8, St. Paul, MN 55104, phone 612/646-8935, fax 612/646-0100, email twila@cchc-mn.org, Web www.cchc-mn.org. Founded in February 1995, Citizens for Choice in Health Care is a nonprofit and nonpartisan 501(c)(6) organization established to support individual choice and privacy in health care decisions for all. CCHC monitors state and national health care legislation, holds educational forums, analyzes health care policy, participates in limited lobbying, and listens to patients. Memberships are $25/year.

Consumer Alert
1001 Connecticut Avenue NW #1128, Washington, DC 20036, 202/467-5809, fax 202/467-5814, info@consumeralert.org

Consumers Research, Inc.
800 Maryland Avenue NE, Washington, DC 20002, 202/546-1713, fax 202/546-1638, crmag@aol.com

Council for Affordable Health Insurance
112 South West Street–4th Floor, Alexandria, VA 22314, 703/836-6200, fax 703/836-6550

Defenders of Property Rights
1350 Connecticut Ave. NW, Ste. 410, Washington, DC 20015, 202/822-6770, fax 202/822-6774, mail@DefendersPropRights.org; www.DefendersPropRights.org

Delaware Public Policy Institute
PO Box 1052, Wilmington, DE 19899-1052, 302/655-7221, fax 302/654-0691

Drug Policy Foundation
4455 Connecticut Avenue NW #B-500, Washington, DC 20008, 202/537-5005, fax 202/537-3007

The Dumont Institute
236 Johnson Avenue, Dumont, NJ 07628, 201/501-8574, fax 201/387-0744, info@dumontinst.com

Education Policy Institute
4401-A Connecticut Avenue NW Box 294 Washington, DC 20008, 202/244-7535, fax 202/244-7584, sdchar@aol.com

The Educational Excellence Network
223 North Guadelupe Street #305, Sante Fe, NM 87501, 202/966-8922, fax 202/363-0488

The Empire Foundation for Policy Research
4 Chelsea Place, Clifton Park, NY 12065, 518/383-2877

Employee Benefit Research Institute
2121 K Street NW #600, Washington, DC 20037 202/659-0670, fax 202/775-6312

Environmental Education Enterprises
6011 Houseman Rd., Ostrander, OH 43061 740/368-9393 fax 740/368-9494

Ethan Allen Institute
4836 Kirby Mountain Road, Concord, VT 05824, 802/695-1448, fax 802/695-1436 eai@ethanallen.org

Evergreen Freedom Foundation
PO Box 552, Olympia, WA 98507, 360/956-3482, fax 360/352-1874, effwa@aol.com

Families Against Mandatory Minimums
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue NW #200-S, Washington, DC 20004, 202/457-5790, fax 202/457-8564

The Family Foundation
PO Box 22100, Lexington, KY 40522, 606/255-5400

The Family Institute
200 12th Avenue South, Nashville, TN 37203, 615/254-3917

Family Research Council
801 G Street NW, Washington, DC 20001, 202/393-2100, fax 202/393-2134, frc@sojourn.com

Family Research Institute of Wisconsin
111 King Street #25, Madison, WI 53703-3339, 608/256-3228, fax 608/256-3370

The Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies
1700 K Street NW #901, Washington, DC 20006, 202/822-8138, fax 202/296-8061

Florida Family Council
101 East Kennedy Boulevard #3120, Tampa, FL 33602, 813/222-8300, fax 813/222-8301

Focus on the Family
8605 Explorer Drive, Colorado Springs, CO 80920, 719/531-3400, fax 719/548-4525

Foundation for the Advancement of Monetary Education
211 East 43rd Street #2202 New York, NY 10017-4707, 212/818-1206, fax 212/818-1197

The Foundation for Economic Education
30 South Broadway, Irvington-on-Hudson, NY 10533, 914/591-7230, fax 914/591-8910, freeman@westnet.com

Foundation for Florida's Future
PO Box 144155, Coral Gables, FL 33114, 305/442-0414, fax 305/442-2215, cory@fff.org

Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment
945 Technology Boulevard #101F, Bozeman, MT 59715, 406/585-1776, fax 406/585-3000, free@mcn.net

The Fraser Institute
626 Bute Street, 2nd Floor, Vancouver, BC, V6E 3M1 Canada, 604/688-0221, fax 604/688-8539, fraser_institute@mindlink.bc.ca

Free Congress Foundation
717 Second Street NE, Washington, DC 20002, 202/546-3004, fax 202/546-7689, netmail@fcfef.org

Free Enterprise Institute
9525 Katy Freeway #303, Houston, TX 77024, 713/984-1343

Free Market Committee
PO Box 740367, Dallas, TX 75374, 214/348-2801

Free Market Foundation
PO Box 741777, Dallas, TX 75374, 214/680-9171

Milton & Rose D. Friedman Foundation
One American Square #2440, P.O. Box 82078, Indianapolis, IN 46282, 317/681-0745, fax 317/681-0945

Future of Freedom Foundation
11350 Random Hills Road #800, Fairfax, VA 22030, 703/934-6101, fax 703/803-1480, freedom@fff.org

The George C. Marshall Institute
1730 K Street NW #905, Washington, DC 20006-3868, 202/296-9655, fax 202/296-9714, debett@marshall.org

Georgia Family Education and Research Council, Inc.
3937 Holcomb Bridge Road #301, Norcross, GA 30092, 404/242-0001, fax 404/242-0501

Education Policy Institute
4401-A Connecticut Avenue NW, Box 294, Washington, DC 20008, phone 202/244-7535, fax 202/244-7584, email keloss@erols.com, Web www.schoolreport.com/epi. The Education Policy Institute seeks to improve education through research, policy analysis, and the development of responsible alternatives to existing policies and practices. In these activities, EPI strives to promote greater parental choice in education, a more competitive education industry, a more creative role for the for-profit sector, and other policies that address the problems of both public and private schools. EPI's chairman, Dr. Myron Lieberman, and president, Charlene K. Haar, are nationally prominent for their contributions on education policy issues.

Georgia Public Policy Foundation
4340 Georgetown Square #608, Atlanta, GA 30338, 770/455-7600, fax 770/455-4355, gppf@gppf.org

Golden State Center for Policy Studies
1127 11th Street #206, Sacramento, CA 95814, 916/446-7924, fax 916/446-7990, britrav@aol.com

Goldwater Institute
201 North Central, Phoenix, AZ 85004, 602/256-7018, fax 602/256-7045, goldwat@idt.net

Gun Owners of America
8001 Forbes Place, Springfield, VA 22151, 703/321-8585

The Heartland Institute
19 South LaSalle Suite 903, Chicago, IL 60603 312/377-4000, fax 312/377-5000 think@heartland.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Contacts

Henry Hazlitt Foundation
401 North Franklin St., #3E, Chicago, IL 60610
312/494-9433, fax 312/494-9441

The Heritage Foundation
214 Massachusetts Avenue NE, Washington, DC 20002, 202/546-4400, fax 202/546-8328, info@heritage.org

Hillsdale College
33 East College Street, Hillsdale, MI 49242, 517/437-7341, fax 517/437-0160

Hoover Institution
Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-6010, 650/723-1754, fax 650/723-1687

Hudson Institute
Herman Kahn Center, PO Box 26-919, Indianapolis, IN 46226, 317/545-1000, fax 317/545-9639

Illinois Public Policy Caucuses
151 North Michigan Avenue #2815, Chicago, IL 60601
312/565-4499, fax 312/565-4460

Independent Institute
Please note our new address!
100 Swan Way, Oakland, CA 94621-1428, phone 510/632-1366, fax 510/568-6040, email info@independent.org, Web www.independent.org. The Independent Institute is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, scholarly research and educational organization which sponsors comprehensive studies on the political economy of critical public issues. Its program adheres to the highest standards of independent inquiry and is pursued regardless of prevailing political or social biases and conventions. The resulting studies are widely distributed as books and other publications, and are publicly debated through numerous conference and media programs. Through this uncommon independence, depth, and clarity, The Independent Institute pushes at the frontiers of our knowledge, redefines the debate over public issues, and fosters new and effective directions for government reform.

Independence Institute
14142 Denver West Parkway #185, Golden, CO 80401, 303/279-6536, fax 303/279-4176, tomtank@aol.com

Independent Institute
100 Swan Way, Oakland, CA 94621-1428
510/632-1366, fax 510/568-6040, info@independent.org

Indiana Policy Review Foundation
PO Box 25125, Fort Wayne, IN 46825-0125
317/236-7360, fax 317/236-7370

Institute for American Values
1841 Broadway #211, New York, NY 10023, 212/246-3942

Institute for Contemporary Studies
720 Market Street–4th Floor, San Francisco, CA 94102, 415/981-5353, fax 415/986-4878, icspress@hooked.net

Institute for Health Freedom
1155 Connecticut Avenue Northwest #508, Washington, DC 20036, 202/429-6610, fax 202/861-1973

Institute for Humane Studies
George Mason University, 4084 University Drive #101, Fairfax, VA 22030, 703/934-6920, fax 703/352-7535, ihs@gmu.edu

Institute for Independent Education
1313 North Capitol Street NE, Washington, DC 20006, 202/745-0500, fax 202/745-9298, iie@prodigy.com

Institute for Justice
1717 Pennsylvania Avenue NW #200, Washington, DC 20006, 202/955-1300, fax 202/955-1329

Institute for Policy Innovation
250 South Stemmons Highway #306, Lewisville, TX 75067, 214/219-0811, fax 214/219-2625, ipi@ipi.org

Institute for Research on the Economics of Taxation
1300 19th Street NW #240, Washington, DC 20036, 202/463-1400, fax 202/463-6199

Institute of Economic Affairs
2 Lord North Street, London, SW1P 3LB, UK, fax (+44) (0)171 799 2137

Institute of Political Economy
Utah State University, Political Science Department, Logan, UT 84322-0725, 801/797-2064, fax 801/797-3751, c-nielsen@wpo.hass.usu.edu

The Institute on Religion and Public Life
156 Fifth Avenue #400, New York, NY 10010, 212/627-1985, fax 212/627-2184

The James Madison Institute
PO Box 37460, Tallahassee, FL 32315-7460, 904/386-3131, fax 904/386-1807, MadisonJMI@aol.com

Jeffersonian Health Policy Foundation
136 John Tyler Highway, Williamsburg, VA 23185, 757/252-2729

The John Locke Foundation
1304 Hillsborough Street, Raleigh, NC 27605, 919/828-3876, fax 919/821-5117, locke@interpath.com

Josiah Bartlett Center for Public Policy
PO Box 897, Concord, NH 03302-0897, 603/224-4450, fax 603/224-4329

Kansas Public Policy Institute
8165 East Central #304, Wichita, KS, 67206 316/683-0261, fax 316/683-0734, KPPI@aol.com

Kansas Taxpayers Network
PO Box 20050, Wichita, KS 67208
316/684-0082, fax 316/684-7527

Laissez Faire Institute
828 North Poplar Court, Chandler, AZ 85226, 602/940-9824

Landmark Legal Foundation
2345 Grand Avenue #2310, Kansas City, MO 64108, 816/474-6600, fax 816/474-6609, hutchp@aol.com

Law and Economics Center
University of Miami, PO Box 248000, Coral Gables, FL 33124, 305/284-6174, fax 305/662-9159, kwclarkson@aol.com

League of Private Property Voters
PO Box 423, Battleground, WA 98604
360/687-2471; fax 360/687-2973
ccushman@pacifier.com

Lincoln Legal Foundation
100 West Monroe #1600, Chicago, IL 60603, 312/606-0951, fax 312/606-8879

Lincoln Institute of Public Opinion Research, Inc.
453 Springlake Rd., Harrisburg, PA 17112
717/671-0776, fax 717/671-1176
74157.243@CompuServe.com; www.lincolninstitute.org

Louisiana Citizens for a Sound Economy
PO Box 80362, Baton Rouge, LA 70898, 504/387-2242, fax 504/387-2244

Mackinac Center for Public Policy
PO Box 568, Midland, MI 48640, 517/631-0900, fax 517/631-0964, MCPP@mackinac.org

Manhattan Institute
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017, 212/599-7000, fax 212/599-3494, dotsikas@pppmail.nyser.net

Media Research Center
113 South West Street–2nd Floor, Alexandria, VA 22314, 703/683-9733, fax 703/683-9736, ajmrc@aol.com

Medical Sentinal, official journal of the AAPS
PO Box 13648, Macon GA 31208-3648
912/757-9873, fax 912/757-9725
www.haciendapub.com

Michigan Family Forum
611 South Walnut Street, Lansing, MI 48933, 517/374-1171, fax 517/374-6112

The Mid-America Legal Foundation
150 N. Michigan Avenue #2500, Chicago, IL 60601, 312/750-3569

Minnesota Family Council
2855 Anthony Place South #150, Minneapolis, MN 55418-3265, 612/789-8811, fax 612/789-8857

Minority Mainstream
13555 Bammel North Houston #189, Houston, TX 77066, 713/228-6246, fax 713/583-9534, grichardson@ghgcorp.com

Mississippi Family Council
PO Box 13514, Jackson, MS 39236, 601/969-1200, fax 601/969-1600, msfamily@aol.com

Mountain States Legal Foundation
707 17th Street #3030, Denver, CO 80202-3404, 303/292-2021, fax 303/292-1980

National Center for Policy Analysis
12655 North Central Expressway #720, Dallas, TX 75243-1739, 972/386-6272, fax 972/386-0924, ncpa@onramp.net

National Center for Public Policy Research
300 Eye Street NE #3, Washington, DC 20002, 202/543-1286, fax 202/543-4779, reliefprt@aol.com

National Chamber Foundation
1615 H Street NW, Washington, DC 20062, 202/463-5552, fax 202/463-3124

National Legal Center for the Public Interest
1000 16th Street NW #500, Washington, DC 20036-5705, 202/296-1683, fax 202/293-2118, info@nlcpi.org

National Rifle Association of America
11250 Waples Mill Road, Fairfax, VA 22030-7400, 703/267-1000, fax 703/267-3918, contact@nra.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

National Right to Work Committee
8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, VA 22160,
703/321-9820, fax 703/321-7342

National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation
8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, VA 22160,
800/336-3600, fax 703/321-9613
info@nrtw.org; www.nrtw.org

National Tax Limitation Committee
151 North Sunrise Avenue #901, Roseville, CA 95661
916/786-9400, fax 916/786-8163, LKUHLER@ns.net

National Taxpayers Union
108 N. Alfred Street, Alexandria, VA 22314,
703/683-5700, fax 703/683-5722

Nevada Policy Research Institute
PO Box 20312, Reno, NV 89515-0312,
702/786-9600, fax 702/786-9604

New Citizenship Project
1150 17th Street NW #510, Washington, DC 20036,
202/822-8333, fax 202/822-8325

New Coalition for Economic and Social Change
300 South Wacker Drive #601, Chicago, IL 60606,
312/427-1290, fax 312/427-1291

New England Legal Foundation
150 Lincoln Street, Boston, MA 02111,
617/695-3660, fax 617/695-3656

New Mexico Foundation for Economic Research
PO Box 1216, Albuquerque, NM 87103,
505/243-5400, fax 505/243-1700

New York Citizens for a Sound Economy
PO Box 469, Port Chester, NY 10573,
914/939-0067, fax 914/939-0174

Oklahoma Citizens for a Sound Economy
PO Box 2181, Edmond, OK 73083-2181,
405/330-4002, fax 405/330-3601

Oklahoma Council of Public Affairs
100 West Wilshire Avenue #C-3, Oklahoma City,
OK 73116, 405/843-9212, fax 405/843-9436,
ocpathink@aol.com

Oklahoma Family Policy Council
5101 North Classen Boulevard #307, Oklahoma City,
OK 73118-4422, 405/840-3005, fax 405/840-4288

Pacific Legal Foundation
2151 River Plaza Drive #305, Sacramento,
CA 95833-3881, 916/641-8888, fax 916/920-3444

Pacific Research Institute
755 Sansome Street #450, San Francisco, CA 94111,
415/989-0833, fax 415/989-2411,
pripp@pacificresearch.org

Parents Rights
12571 Northwinds Drive, St. Louis,
MO 63146, 314/434-4171

Partners Advancing Values in Education
1434 West State Street, Milwaukee, WI 53233,
414/342-1505, fax 414/342-1513

Pattern Research
PO Box 9845, Denver, CO 80209, 303/778-0880,
fax 303/778-2680, lief@pattern.rmnug.org

Pennsylvania Family Institute
3544 N. Progress Avenue #104, Harrisburg, PA 17110,
717/545-0600, fax 717/545-8107, pafamily@aol.com

Pennsylvania Leadership Council
225 State Street #330, Harrisburg, PA 17101,
717/232-5919, fax 717/232-1186

People for the USA
PO Box 4345, Pueblo, CO 81003, 719/543-8421,
fax 719/543-9473, pfw@usa.net

PERC
502 South 19th Street #211, Bozeman, MT 59715,
406/587-9591, fax 406/586-7555, perc@perc.org

The Philanthropy Roundtable
320 North Meridian Street #908, Indianapolis, IN
46204-1725, 317/639-6546, fax 317/236-7370

Pioneer Institute
85 Devonshire Street–8th Floor, Boston,
MA 02109, 617/723-2277, fax 617/723-1880,
75374.643@compuserve.com

Privatization Research Organization,
School of Public Affairs
Baruch College/City University of New York,
17 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10010,
212/802-5909, fax 212/802-5903

The Progress and Freedom Foundation
1301 K Street NW #650 West, Washington, DC 20005,
202/289-8928, fax 202/289-6079, mail@pff.org

The Property Rights Foundation of America Inc.
PO Box 75, Stony Creek, NY 12878, 518/696-5748

Public Affairs Research Institute of New Jersey
212 Carnegie Center #100, Princeton, NJ 08540-6212,
609/452-0220, fax 609/452-1788, parinj@aol.com

Public Interest Institute
600 North Jackson Street, Mt. Pleasant, IA
52641-0135, 319/385-3462, fax 319/385-3799

Public Service Research Foundation
527 Maple Avenue East–3rd Floor, Vienna,
VA 22180, 703/242-3575, fax 703/242-3579

Reason Foundation
3415 South Sepulveda Boulevard #400,
Los Angeles, CA 90034-6064, 310/391-2245,
fax 310/391-4395, Gpassantino@reason.org

Rockford Institute
934 Main Street, Rockford, IL 61103, 815/964-5053,
fax 815/965-1826, rkfdinst@bossnt.com

Rose Institute for State and Local Government
Claremont McKenna College, Claremont,
CA 91711, 909/621-8159, fax 909/607-4288,
anguyen@cmcvax.mckenna.edu

Science & Environmental Policy Project
4084 University Drive #101, Fairfax, VA 22030,
703/934-6940, fax 703/352-7535

Separation of School and State Alliance
4578 North First #310, Fresno, CA 93726, 209/292-
1776, fax 209/292-7582, separate@sepschool.org

Sequoia Institute
3479 Beaver Ford Court, Woodbridge,
VA 22192, 703/590-0496, fax 703/730-1156

Small Business Survival Committee
1320 18th Street NW #200, Washington, DC 20036,
202/785-0238, fax 202/822-8118, rstikes@sbsc.org

South Carolina Policy Council
1323 Pendleton Street, Columbia, SC 29201,
803/779-5022, fax 803/779-4953
scpc@city-online.com

Southeastern Legal Foundation
3340 Peachtree Road NE #2515, Atlanta,
GA 30326, 404/365-8500, fax 404/365-0017

State Policy Network
816 Mill Lake Road, Fort Wayne, IN
46845-6400, 219/637-7778, fax 219/637-7779

The St. Lawrence Institute
PO Box 307, N.D.G. Station, Montreal
Quebec H4A 3P6, 514/489-0312,
sparkins@pharma1.pharma.mcgill.ca

Sutherland Institute
Independence Square, 111 East 5600 South #208, Salt
Lake City, UT 84107, 801/281-2081, fax 801/281-2414
sutherland@utah-inter.net

Tax Foundation
1250 H Street NW #750, Washington, DC
20005-3908, 202/783-2760, fax 202/942-7675

Texas Citizens for a Sound Economy
1005 Congress Avenue #910, Austin, TX 78701,
512/476-5905, fax 512/476-5906

Texas Public Policy Foundation
PO Box 40519, San Antonio, TX 78229, 210/614-0080,
fax 210/614-2649, pppf@txdirect.net

Thomas Jefferson Institute
8107 Long Shadows Drive, Fairfax Station, VA 22039

U.S. Term Limits Foundation
1125 15th Street NW #501, Washington, DC 20005,
202/463-3200 (800/733-6440), fax 202/463-3210

Utah Taxpayers Association
1578 West 1700 South #201, Salt Lake City,
UT 84104, 801/972-8814, fax 973-2324

Virginia Citizens for a Sound Economy
PO Box 7551, Charlottesville, VA 22906,
703/863-8612, fax 703/863-8614

Virginia Institute for Public Policy
20461 Tappahannock Place, Sterling, VA 20165-7423,
703/421-8635, fax 703/450-1344, trtimquids@aol.com

Washington Institute for Policy Studies
PO Box 24645, Seattle, WA 98124-0645,
206/937-9691 (800/546-4460), fax 206/938-6313,
WIPS@wips.org

Washington Institute Foundation
4025 Del Ridge Way SW #210, Seattle, WA 98106,
206/937-9691 (888/943-9799), fax 206/938-6313.

Washington Legal Foundation
2009 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC
20036, 202/588-0302, fax 202/588-0386

Washington Research Council
108 South Washington Street #406,
Seattle, WA 98104-3408
206/467-7088, fax 206/467-6957,
wic@researchcouncil.org

Wisconsin Policy Research Institute
PO Box 487, Thiensville, WI 53092-0487
414/241-0514, fax 414/241-0774

Yankee Institute
117 New London Turnpike, Glastonbury,
CT 06033, 860/633-8188, fax 860/657-9444

Young America's Foundation
110 Elden St., Herndon, VA 20170
703/318-9608, fax 703/318-9122

Intellectual Ammunition March/April 1999 © The Heartland Institute

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE HEARTLAND INSTITUTE ON LINE

From the full text of Heartland publications to hundreds of links to the public policy community nationwide, **www.heartland.org** offers a vast, easy-to-use on-line resource.

About Heartland

heartland.org/about.htm

Visit **About Heartland** for a concise statement of Heartland's mission; information about staff, board of directors, policy advisors, and funding base; and driving directions to the downtown headquarters.

PolicyFax

heartland.org/policyfax98/contents.htm

Over 5,000 reports on scores of policy issues are available instantly by fax or e-mail through ***PolicyFax***, Heartland's exclusive fax-on-demand information service.

School Reform News

heartland.org/education/whatis.htm

School Reform News: The nation's only monthly periodical devoted to school reform, now reaching the entire private school market—parochial as well as secular schools.

Environment News

heartland.org/environment/whatis.htm

Environment News: Devoted to bringing sound science and free-market perspectives to the public debate over a wide range of environment issues.

Intellectual Ammunition

heartland.org/ia.html

Get the full text of Heartland's bimonthly public policy magazine, ***Intellectual Ammunition***, offering original columns by experts at the country's leading think tanks.

Gateway to Think Tanks

heartland.org/contacts.htm

Stop at Heartland's **Gateway to Think Tanks** for addresses and hot links to over 200 groups dedicated to reducing the size and cost of government.

Experts

heartland.org/experts/index.htm

Heartland's **Experts** feature links you to the country's leading public policy experts. Search for an expert by state or by area of expertise.

Heartlander

heartland.org/hlander.htm

The Heartlander: Heartland's membership newsletter includes a through-provoking cover essay from Heartland President Joseph L. Bast and regular updates on new publications, events, and achievements.

Heartland Policy Studies

heartland.org/studies/policy.html

Concise summaries of ***Heartland Policy Studies*** with links to the full text of the studies and their executive summaries.

Sports Stadium Madness

heartland.org/studies/sports/index.html

Sports Stadium Madness: A complete collection of *Heartland Policy Studies* and *Perspectives* challenging government subsidies to sports teams and their stadiums, plus links to grassroots organizations, think tanks and academic organizations, and news stories.

www.heartland.org

The Heartland Institute
19 South LaSalle, Suite 903
Chicago, Illinois 60603

This is your ***PolicyFax*** account number!

Non-profit organization
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
CHICAGO, ILL.
Permit No. 4826

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED